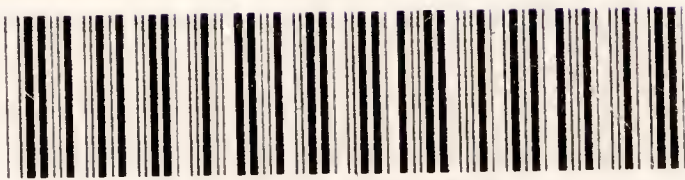


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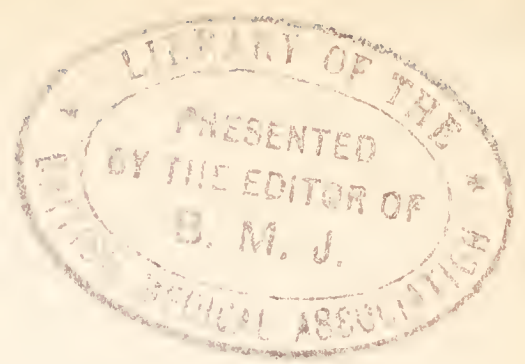
EDWIN A.
KIRKPATRICK

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MENTAL HYGIENE FOR EFFECTIVE LIVING

BY

EDWIN A. KIRKPATRICK

AUTHOR OF

"FUNDAMENTALS OF CHILD STUDY," "GENETIC PSYCHOLOGY,"
"THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE MAKING," "EDUCATIONAL
SOCIOLOGY," "THE USE OF MONEY," "THE SCIENCES OF MAN
IN THE MAKING," "CONDUCT PROBLEMS," ETC.



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PREFACE

This book is the outcome of courses of lectures given under the auspices of the Harvard-Boston University Extension Service. Teachers and others who took the course said they gained much in knowledge of themselves and of how to deal with children and others. It is hoped that readers and students will profit equally by this more formal presentation of the subject.

Using as a background facts of anthropology, physiology, sociology, psychology, child study, and education, the author has attempted to bring together truths from all these fields, to temper them with common sense, and to organize them in such a way as to be helpful to all persons interested in social and individual mental hygiene, especially to those dealing with children.

Technical terms and references to special researches have been avoided in the interest of simplicity and readability. Seemingly dogmatic statements, when not founded on specific scientific researches, are supported by the author's observations and are, it is believed, in accordance with scientific principles and common sense.

One of the most difficult problems in a work like this is that of arrangement. Each point of view demands a different grouping of facts, and it is desirable that general truths and their application should be in close relationship. Some repetition is inevitable, but the arrangement adopted should lead to progressively better appreciation of the fundamental truths of mental hygiene that appear in many different connections.

The purpose of the book is to present the characteristics of normal functioning, and to show how variations from the nor-

mal are produced. To get the intensifying and enlightening effects of contrast, it is desirable that students should know something of mental diseases. One or more books on this subject should be read. Karl Menninger's *The Human Mind* is especially valuable.

The author is inevitably and gratefully indebted to William H. Burnham, the father of mental hygiene as distinct from psychiatry. All of his writings are recommended. A list of other books also likely to be useful for supplementary reading is given at the close of the book.

For the case studies at the close of each chapter the author is indebted to his students. Although not rigorously scientific, it is believed that they are substantially correct reports on individuals whose behavior may be accounted for at least in part by the facts given.

It is intended that the exercises for students shall be used not only in class discussions, but as suggestions for topics for papers, and for special reading and research.

For valuable criticism and help in getting the manuscript ready for printing, warm thanks are due to my wife, also to my son Clifford, who offered valuable suggestions and asked the privilege of writing the introduction.

E. A. K.

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INTRODUCTION

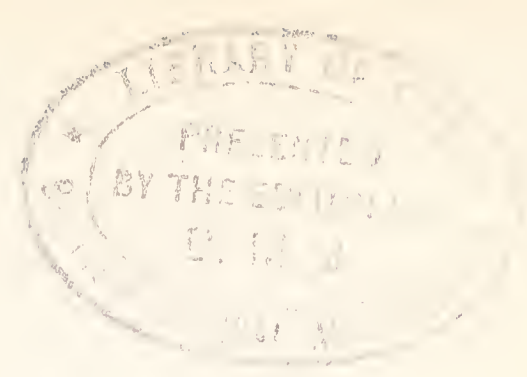
Modern psychology has thrown light upon every phase of human behavior. It is now increasingly apparent that intellectual activity, even that of psychologists, has its roots in the human personality with its emotions and yearnings, and in the social environment which has nourished that personality.

Strident claims of objectivity notwithstanding, few books can be completely understood or fairly judged when detached from their authors. There is profound wisdom in the remark that the title of every book should be "How to Be More Like Me." The field of mental hygiene has often attracted those lacking in mental health. Essentially personal remedies have been offered as universal panaceas. Mental healers have urged the world to become more than they have themselves succeeded in becoming. Wisdom offered in the name of mental hygiene is often the wisdom of failure rather than of success.

Such considerations perhaps justify an introduction by one whose chief qualification is the privilege of being for thirty-five years the son of the author of this book on mental hygiene. Many years of intimate comradeship have revealed my father as one who is by every standard a truly healthy personality. The wisdom in the following pages has guided a life that has been rich, balanced, useful, and happy, in spite of effort and sorrows which would have left many others embittered. The author has the distinction of presenting a mental hygiene which he has successfully practised in his own life and wisely utilized to further the adjustment of his fellows in the intricate web of social interaction.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

University of Minnesota



CHAPTER I

MENTAL HEALTH AND PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT

What is mental health? Mental hygiene is in the early stages of becoming a science. Its truths and their application are common knowledge obtained by researches in the social sciences, physiology, and psychology, and supplemented by some scientific observations and experiments. Many of these truths have been understood and used by persons who have never made any special or scientific study of the subject. It is of advantage to beginning students to realize this, and to apply what they already know to the special problems confronting them while gaining more reliable facts.

When members of a beginning class in mental hygiene were asked to describe a distinctly mentally healthy individual, and one who is mentally unhealthy but not insane, many interesting examples were given, disclosing various views of what constitutes mental health, some superficial and others essentially correct.

In one case, a man is considered to have an unhealthy mind because "he plays the stock market and talks about it, is intimate with his school pupils, and becomes a bootlegger," although these facts indicate a consistent, though perhaps not an admirable, personality as judged by the social conventions of his group. Another is judged as healthy-minded because "he is earnest in his work, happy, kind, respected, successful, and does not worry." Half of these are moral qualities and only incidentally, if at all, indicative of mental health. A boy of fifteen with a mental age of ten "is in the fourth grade and a leader of younger children, good in athletics and hand work, poor in

arithmetic, a smoker, boastful, quick-tempered, impulsive, and occasionally sullen when crossed." He is judged as unhealthy-minded, although sullenness is the only definite indication of unhealthy functioning, while the other reactions are such as are usual for an individual who is subnormal mentally and trying to protect and use his personality under the conditions to which he is subjected. The lack of success in adjusting has, however, occasionally led to the unhealthful state of sullenness.

The following brief descriptions show one individual well adjusted to his body, to his vocation, and to a variety of persons, while the other describes one who has never made such adjustments.

CASE 1A.—Mr. A—— is well adjusted to members of his family and lives up to his motto of facing facts and helps others to do so. He is an outdoor man, fond of all sports, and keeps in good physical condition. He is happy in his work and his friends, and well adjusted to the community in which he lives.

CASE 1B.—Miss B—— is a stenographer who takes no exercise and has low vitality. She is an only child whose father died in her infancy and has all her life been with her mother and under her dominant personality. She has no ideas of her own but takes them all from her mother. This has made her a person of weak will, with no initiative. If a decision must be made, she asks her mother to make it. If left to herself, she would probably not be able to adjust to her environment, since it has always been done for her.

Most of the facts given in the following descriptions of two women are significant as to mental health.

CASE 2A.—I knew a girl in college who had a serious inferiority complex. She was not beautiful but she was attractive, and had no reason to feel inferior because of her build. She was an only child and was allowed to have anything she wished that her father could afford. Her home atmosphere was rather dreary for a child, as her mother was an invalid and her grandmother who lived with her was not a happy companion for a young girl. Her ancestry was good. Her mental intelligence was above the average, and she received excellent

marks in college. She was very easily offended and went around for days not speaking to some special girl for apparently little or no reason. Consequently her friends began to dislike her. She cried a lot and seemed unhappy most of the time.

I believe this girl's troubles started at home at an early period. Being the only child, she was brought up to think that she was better than any other little girl. When she came to college, she met other girls who were just as attractive and just as much in the center of interest as she. Of course she could not understand why she was not treated the same way here as she was at home. The result was that she developed an inferiority complex which absorbed her whole personality. She lost most of her poise, her happiness, her self-confidence and her friends.

CASE 2B.—There is a woman in my home town whom I greatly admire for her mental health. She was the oldest of a family of many children. Her father's income was so small that she had a struggle to get what education she could procure. At an early age she became secretary to a lawyer. Later she married this man and now she is the mother of two healthy children.

This woman is not attractive physically, but she has a wonderful personality. Her mind is most attractive. She has done a great deal of self-education. She has planned her life so that it is filled with healthy interests. Her friends are many for she is a social woman. She always accomplishes what she sets out to do, for she is thorough and business-like. She has enough common sense to see life as it really is, and not as she, alone, would like to see it. The rough places of life she smoothes over as well as she can. This last year she has taken the death of her husband as any brave and sensible person would.

CASE 3A.—Andrew is nearly thirteen years old. His family are in comfortable circumstances. His father is a surveyor (college graduate), and his mother a trained nurse.

The boy has always been a problem case. His every word was law. He has been idolized and pampered by his parents and grandparents ever since birth (the first grandchild). He was born shortly after his father returned from the War—was a sickly, puny baby and had the rickets. Had to be wheeled about until 3 or 4 years old.

He was placed in kindergarten under his aunt as his teacher. This could well have been called the "child-centered school." Andrew al-

ways came first and anything he wanted to do, he was allowed to do—and anything he *didn't* want to do, he didn't do.

This condition grew worse from year to year, the teachers putting up with all kinds of fits of temper. He became sullen and insolent, cried easily, and resented any criticism. His aunt always took his part and made the teachers feel that they just didn't understand Andrew.

He is not of low mentality. He is in the seventh grade and has an I.Q. of about 115. He loves to read, look at pictures, draw, and has a vast fund of outside knowledge. He has moved on from grade to grade each year, not that I think he deserved to, but no doubt because his teachers felt that one year of Andrew was almost all that any one could stand.

Last year he arrived in the seventh grade in Junior High and away from the influence of his aunt. Andrew had his fits of temper and even went so far as to pull his own hair, bite the back of his hand, tear at his clothing, and while doing this holler or stamp his feet. One time he broke away from his class during fire drill and ran home because he didn't want to go down the fire-escape. (But he was found playing on the fire-escapes after school at night.) When asked why he acted that way, he said, "I'm too nervous, I can't, my mother says I'm nervous."

The family dentist told me that on two different occasions he had been called up in the middle of the night and asked to go to the office in order to relieve Andrew because he had the toothache. On one occasion Andrew refused to let him do anything.

After weeks and months of putting up with these scenes, which had a very unhealthy effect upon the other children as well as the teachers, we decided to let him go his own pace—get his assignments or not—and let him take the consequences at the end of the year.

He failed his year's work. Something had happened to Andrew that Andrew and his parents never thought could happen. Even on the day that the promotions were announced, Andrew couldn't believe that he'd failed.

Andrew returned to us this September and is repeating his grade. Although we've only been back seven weeks, we can see a marked improvement in his attitude and work. He has created a couple of scenes but nothing compared to previous performances. He seems happier in his work and plays more with the others; has assumed a more attentive attitude and does not seem to expect special privileges or favors.

CASE 3B.—In contrast to Andrew I'd like to give you a general idea of his eleven-year-old sister, Betty, who is also in the seventh grade. It hardly seems possible that the two children could be of the same family and so entirely different.

Her health is good and she is a happy, cheerful child, one that any parent would be proud of. She is on time and works regularly and judiciously. She expresses ideas accurately and clearly. She finds ways and means to overcome difficulties and shows intellectual curiosity. She reacts quickly to situations and gives sustained attention. She participates in worthy group activities and seems happy in work and play with others and never expects special favors or privileges. Betty has an I.Q. of 135 and has always been an honor student.

She has never received attention or pampering from her parents and grandparents as Andrew has. She is a happy, carefree child and has a keen sense of humor. I really believe her one sorrow has been the shame she has felt on account of the bad conduct of her brother.

CASE 4A.—Mrs. B—— is a woman of about thirty-eight, a high-school graduate and the wife of a farmer. Both her parents belonged to good, intelligent families. As a young woman she was an active member of various societies. During the War she was a war worker.

She married when in her early thirties. She and her husband run two large farms. There are no children, to their disappointment. Their whole interest seems centered in improving their farms, their stock, and their home.

She has no time for her former social activities nor her numerous friends. She tells me laughingly that her father could never have made her work as her husband does.

Some years ago (after her marriage) she was stricken by a strange case of pneumonia. This left her in an extremely susceptible condition. She has to be very careful but she manages without often mentioning, complaining, or letting it interfere too much with her work in and out-of-doors.

While inclined to be excitable and nervous, she manages to look at things squarely, practically and with a sense of humor, and forms opinions sanely. She is an efficient worker. She handles people tactfully. She is always cheerful, interesting, and interested.

CASE 4B.—Mrs. A—— is a woman of about forty-eight, the wife of a farmer. She completed elementary school. She had a pleasant

girlhood as a member of a small family who lived in a factory city. She was always fond of crowds and a good time. She mentions having won prizes for dancing. Up until her first marriage in her early thirties, she worked at home and in factories. Her only child died. Two years after their marriage her husband died. She obtained work as a housekeeper and at about thirty-five years of age married a prosperous farmer. She is an efficient housekeeper. He is quiet, loving, likes his work, reading, and an occasional movie.

Since their marriage and especially in the last two years, she has had severe spells of indigestion, lasting for weeks. She always complains of not feeling well, and of the monotony of her life. This in spite of the fact that her husband buys everything she could ask for her comfort or to lighten her already not very hard tasks. They have a good radio; he takes her out in a fine car. The brother who lives with them is also very kind to her, but she complains to callers, "They get up at four in the morning, do chores, eat breakfast, work, eat dinner, work, eat supper, read and go to bed at eight, the monotony drives me wild."

She loves children, and not having any is a disappointment. They have spoken of adopting one, but have never found one suitable, or perhaps the husband hesitates. She has a dog and a cat which she pets and worries over as much as if they were children.

Feelings and mental health. Most persons describing healthy and unhealthy individuals mention feelings and are justified in doing so, since feelings are related to both physical and mental health. There are few exceptions to the general rule that vigorous physiological and mental functioning is accompanied by feelings of a pleasurable tone, and unhealthy activities by less agreeable or painful states. Feelings are at least a fairly good barometer, whose rise and fall are greatly affected by physiological and mental processes, yet one may be physically comfortable and at the same time mentally unhappy, or the reverse. Such a condition, however, is not likely to continue since one state generally influences the other.

There is no means of knowing to what extent changes in feelings are causes of changes in functioning or are only indicative of such changes. In any case, the character of a person's feel-

ings is generally a good index to the normality of functioning of body and mind. Whenever normal, harmonious vigor of physiological functioning increases, the general feeling of well-being and comfort increases. On the other hand, decreased efficiency of functioning is indicated by less pleasurable feelings, or even painful feelings of sickness, of mental perplexities, conflicts, and miseries. The feelings are nearly as good an indication of normality of functioning as is body temperature, but we have no emotional barometer with which exact measurements may be made. The psychiatrist, though aided by some tests in studying feelings, must depend largely upon what the patient tells him and upon his observation of signs of emotion just as the old-time doctor judged body temperature by using his senses of sight and touch, in contrast to the physician of to-day who has a clinical thermometer and other instruments for making exact measurements of temperature and other conditions.

Excessive activity of any kind will ultimately affect all the physiological processes in a form known as fatigue which may be felt, and which is also shown objectively, in decreased efficiency of functioning of the parts being used. It is only in a healthy organism that the *feeling* of fatigue is a reliable indication of the degree of fatigue.

Happiness and optimism are usually indications of continuance and increase of the normal harmonious functioning of the personality as a whole, whereas unhappiness and depression are indications of a disturbance of harmony and efficiency of the personality. When the optimism or pessimism is the product of philosophical thinking and is not manifested in practical behavior, there are often seeming exceptions to this statement.

Whatever is done by changes in environment, by the influence and efforts of others, or by voluntary action of the individual himself which progressively increases his happiness index, is likely to be in the interest of personality health except when the happiness is secured by withdrawal from reality or too much pro-

tection and coddling by others. Even then, the personality profits temporarily by the avoidance of conflicts.

Shocks produced objectively and directly by environment, or indirectly by mental representations and conflicting behavior (actual or represented), disturb normal functioning. These disturbances are indicated by the more intense and variable type of feeling known as emotion. Such stirred-up states of feeling indicate a departure from the usual smooth, normal functioning of the personality as a whole.

Whatever disturbs habitual behavior and thought processes excites the emotions and affects general feeling tone. Painful shocks and unexpected difficulties may break up old habits and induce reactions that work more successfully than the old ones, and thus the pleasure index may be raised. If, however, old useless forms of reacting are continued with increase of non-coördinated activities of emotional irritation, the happiness index falls and personality health declines or becomes positively diseased: for example, being irritated again and again by a slamming door without trying to get used to it, or to have its noise stopped. Failure frequently leads to worries and to less efficiency and an increased feeling of inferiority.

Shocks of fear, anger, joy, and sorrow are temporarily disturbers of the emotional life, but their ultimate effect upon the future health and happiness of the personality depends upon whether there is an early return to coördinated activity helpful in meeting life situations. Although seeming to be of great importance to the individual at the time, emotions are not necessarily indicative of permanent personality changes any more than is a temporary increase in heart beat after violent muscular exercise. Excessive emotions, if prolonged, usually indicate that an unhealthful state is beginning.

Mental health indicated by functioning. Each person is a living world that can continue to exist only by making adjustments of activities to the outer world and within the per-

sonality in such a way that, as a whole, it shall be favorably adjusted to the physical environment, to surrounding persons, and to the social conventions of the group to which one belongs. Complete failure to make such adjustments makes disorganization and death of the personality inevitable. Partial failure is shown most clearly by queer behavior, signs of unhappiness, conflicts between the person and his environment, and by conflicts of the individual with himself. No matter what the endowment or environment may be, a person who is functioning so as to be much like his companions, and so as to be happy and free from serious external and internal conflicts, is in a reasonably healthy state.

A strong personality may remain healthy in spite of conflicts with his environment and may even become stronger as he succeeds in overcoming opposition. Weaker individuals usually become continually more helpless when they fail to adjust themselves.

The general truths as to what native individual traits and what sort of environment are most frequently associated with mental health or ill health give only a slight basis for judging whether or not an individual is healthy physically or mentally. It is always necessary to know how the individual is reacting to his environment. When the reactions indicate balanced functioning and success in making satisfactory adjustments to the environment, there is mental health no matter what the excesses, deficiencies, or peculiarities of native endowment are, nor how favorable or unfavorable the environment may be. If the functioning diverges from the normal, is not consistent or unified, and does not bring better adjustment to the environment, and if this condition is growing worse, a state of mental ill health exists whatever the endowments and environment.

The standards of normal mental and social functioning are not so well established as those for bodily functioning, and the facts regarding these functions in an individual are less easily

determined by objective measurements than in medical practice. The further treatment of standards in mental hygiene and of methods of diagnosis will be left for a later chapter. Early in our study of mental hygiene, however, it is desirable to have a preliminary view of what constitutes a healthy and an unhealthy personality. These concepts may be made clearer by a few general remarks and some descriptions of the behavior of individuals.

Considerable individuality in functioning and behavior may be found when there is no clear evidence of damaging conflicts within the personality, or of badly adjusted reactions to the environment. Some personalities are also much more resistant than others to the crippling effects of certain kinds of functioning.

For purposes of mental hygiene the important thing is not merely whether the individual remains sane, but whether the ways of reacting are of an intensity or of a kind that produce more rather than less harmonious, vigorous functioning, and better adjustments to environment. The aggressive individual may be objectionable and yet maintain a high degree of mental health. The withdrawing individual may meet with little or no disapproval and yet be developing internal conflicts and losing the ability to make objective adjustments that are satisfactory to himself or to others.

One must not, therefore, consider agreeableness or goodness in the usual sense as identical with mental health. Neither do high intelligence and great objective achievement indicate any greater degree of mental health than low intelligence, with a corresponding degree of objective achievement and absence of conflicts with others. A high-powered car may function poorly, and a low-powered one work admirably up to its limits of performance; the same is true of high- and low-powered minds. Mental hygiene seeks to secure the best possible functioning of minds of all grades under the situations in which they must work.

The difficulties of deciding what is healthy functioning are

probably greatest in the field of social functioning, or morals, because the norms from which the individual diverges are often artificial and local rather than natural and universal. Those persons whose conduct varies considerably from well established social customs of their group are likely to be regarded as queer, bad, crazy, according as they are individualists, criminals, or reformers, and as there is evidence that their vigor of personality is being affected. Most individuals at odds with their social environment are likely to suffer more serious injuries to themselves than they inflict upon society. Others grow weak by trying to avoid social situations. The shy individual is more likely to develop an unhealthy personality than the one who is disorderly. The sullen individual has failed in his attacks on society and is already functioning in an unhealthy way. The same is true in a less degree of the one who is indulging in self-pity.

Common-sense adjustments to new situations. Every individual is more or less perfectly practising the principles of mental hygiene. He is doing this both consciously and unconsciously. Whenever a new situation presents itself or he finds old ways of reacting are unsatisfactory, he is likely to choose voluntarily how he shall react. With no knowledge of scientific research, some individuals order their lives by the help of common sense more successfully than do others who are familiar with the scientific facts bearing on mental hygiene. In other instances, the direction of conduct is very unwise unless common sense is supplemented and corrected by truths of physiology and psychology.

A group of busy people, most of whom were teachers, arranged to take a course in mental hygiene, involving a schedule of two double periods a week. This meant doing a half semester's work in that subject in eight weeks. They were asked to indicate the adjustments they planned to make to meet this new situation without injury to their mental health. The following quotations will reveal plans for conscious adjustments showing

varying degrees of wisdom. It will be noticed that some give their principal attention to the work to be done, and to the adjustments to things, people, and other tasks to be performed; while others are chiefly concerned with their own physical and mental state while meeting the unusual situation.

CASE 5.—When undertaking any piece of work it is essential we know the goal toward which we are striving. After having this in mind, we should endeavor to do justice to the subject.

Possibly worry is the greatest hindrance that keeps us from realizing all we should from a given subject. This is quite unnecessary, and it is a known fact that worry accomplishes nothing. In order to overcome this unpleasant state of mind we should strive toward a sympathetic feeling for our subject. We must give our undivided attention to the matter we have before us. After a hard day's work we cannot expect to have an alert, receptive mind. Therefore, we should delay our efforts until we can think clearly.

When a written paper is due, accomplish your task the first of the week, thus giving yourself time to think deliberately. Often a paper written at the "eleventh hour" clearly shows the strain. Reference books often throw valuable light upon some given detail, and should be given careful attention.

If we are given to reading books of a lighter trend, we might profit by substituting something deeper along the line of our proposed course of study.

Our presence at every lecture is also necessary. We cannot expect to get much from the course if we are not willing to put something of ourselves into the work.

CASE 6.—Proper adjustment should be made in the regular work and everyday living. This may best be accomplished by correlating the work of the course with the regular school work. Ideas gained in class should be used in connection with the work of the grade. Observations should be made in the school, cases of particular interest studied, and conditions noted whereby changes may be made for preserving or improving the mental health of the pupils. The problems of mental hygiene as related to the school should be studied, and the wisest solution of maladjustments in dealing with the pupils.

Every progressive teacher is expected to do a certain amount of educational reading during the school year, and during the eight

weeks of the course, books of the mental-hygiene type may be substituted for others. Advantage should be taken of the great amount of dependable literature available from different sources.

The practical rules of physical and mental hygiene should be observed. Work, recreation, rest, and exercise should be kept in their proper relative proportions. Rest periods after school, sufficient sleep, exercise in the fresh air, etc. are advisable as aids to nature. Worry should be eliminated, or at least reduced as much as possible, for the mental state influences health very strongly. Efficiency should be practised, and clean-cut decisions made, with attention fixed upon the present. Quality rather than quantity of work should count.

CASE 7.—The course came so unexpectedly, the first adjustment I considered was financial. My budget for October was planned, thus necessitating a revision in money matters affecting October and November.

Next I felt a decided annoyance caused by having to change my plan of the day following classroom work. It necessitated changing the dinner hour to a later time; the family consisting of husband and three boys were unsympathetic with the idea. Especially the youngest son who has used this hour before dinner for confidences. He resented the interference. This influenced my attitude. Since the meetings we are reconciled to the changes involved, and the annoyance felt at first seems petty as I notice the advantages of the change.

Then I made a social adjustment, necessitated because I would like to visit with other members of the class whom I seldom see except at the meetings. This desire to meet and visit at the meetings is impossible as I drive in from the outskirts, and the time element is before me. This adjustment toward the group I make at four o'clock.

Perhaps last, but not least, at the close of a day after school problems and activities I suffered fatigue. This means I must summon up an attention and a concentration which will enable me to avoid distraction, repress memories of opportunities neglected during the day, get into the mood and behavior which will best respond to the interest of the group. I adjust myself as far as my individual capacity will allow, to the rôle of a student seeking for practical aids in my work—teaching.

CASE 8.—First I have planned my school work in advance so that I will have more time for study. All school work for each day is

completed before leaving the building and none left to be done at night.

At the close of school, from an hour and a half to two hours is spent out-of-doors, in riding, walking, or working in my flower garden. The latter I find is most restful for tired nerves, and from it I derive a great deal of pleasure. The many interesting things about hold one's attention and help to shut out from one's mind the things that caused annoyance or worry during the day.

I expect to spend two hours each evening for the first four evenings of the week, also Saturday mornings, in study and reference reading. The other three evenings I call my free evenings.

These four evenings I plan to keep free from social engagements as I require regular hours of sleep on school days, and the extra hours of study mean I must have extra hours of sleep. The hour before retiring is a relaxation period, to enable me to dispel the more serious thoughts of the day which would be likely to keep me awake.

CASE 9.—It seems to me that I can always find time to do anything I really want to do. The main thing is wanting enough. So I am taking this course because I want to grow mentally and because I enjoy being a part of the group.

I am not yet sure how I will adapt myself to this extra demand on my time. I am not worrying about it, however.

During these weeks, I will deny myself the pleasure of certain Sunday evening gatherings our family always has. (And just this past week there has been a birth and a wedding in our circle!) But I feel I must get some extra rest the night before the class meets. Although the subject is interesting, I get tired of sitting down so long. After class I will probably take a walk or a ride with the windows open wide to let in all the air possible. Not alone—with pleasant companionship. Life would not be worth while without some one to share it all.

CASE 10—1. I live with my mother and my sister who teaches in New Jersey, but who has been ill at home for several months. There are several domestic duties that I must attend to. I have made arrangements to hire some of this work done.

2. This year clubs have been started and I have a needlecraft club which will mean a good deal of outside planning. Some of the members have had previous training, so I am letting them help in this work.

3. My home room is responsible for a home-room program early in December. I shall make it a home-room activity such as I think it ought to be.

4. I teach seventh-grade English and meet 134 pupils daily, besides two spelling classes. I have planned my work so as to have fewer papers to check, and to have the pupils help in checking them.

5. Some of my time is spent in reading for recreation and a certain amount of time is given to social activities. Both of these will have to be made much less.

6. The question which is hardest to settle is whether I can do the required work and earn credit for the course with a satisfactory mark.

CASE II.—May I say that I elected this course as I enjoy study, reading, and also because mental hygiene has a related bearing upon my school work. I have divided my plans for adjustments into three units. First, as to the lecture period itself. Second, as to the course as a whole. Third, as to the results I expect to achieve by having taken the work.

On Tuesday after school I plan to leave the school building at four o'clock, come to my room and relax, as I wish to have a change of atmosphere so that I may have a fresh outlook, thereby becoming more alert mentally and more open-minded in regard to the viewpoints and suggestions.

I plan to budget my time so as to provide for a period for reading, one for study, and one for observation of the mentally deficient. I hope to set aside Monday evening for study; Friday mornings I plan to visit an opportunity class for observation; Thursday evenings I have allotted to general reading on mental hygiene. I feel that I must make definite time assignments or I will not be able to complete the work satisfactorily, and outside interests will become too prominent.

It is my desire, when I have completed the course, to be able to cope more intelligently with disciplinary problems, to understand better the socially ill-adjusted child, the child who apparently has no particular interests; the relationship between physical and mental health; some of the difficulties which the sub-normal child has in meeting its school adjustments.

Reactions to handicaps and losses. One of the best means of getting an idea of the difference between healthy and un-

healthy personality functioning is to study handicapped individuals, whether the handicap is congenital, due to bodily injuries, or caused by change of environment. In such cases the signs of healthy or unhealthy reactions are usually more evident than in normal persons, and their significance in mental hygiene is greater than the behavior of abnormal and insane persons.

The general social attitude toward handicaps is sometimes more influential than the individuality of the handicapped person. For example, a few centuries ago persons who were without hearing and speech were considered in common law as being incompetent mentally. Now, in a suitable environment and after proper training, deaf persons are expected to be responsible and self-directing, and nearly as able to take their part in social life as those who have the usual sense organs. Blind persons were never supposed to be mentally incompetent but vocationally so, and were generally cared for by others. Now a large proportion of them are able to earn their own living and, under favorable conditions, need little or no assistance.

Formerly the deaf were usually shy or antagonistic in their social functioning, and the blind were not only frequently dependent but often morbidly introspective. With a change in the attitude of others and with opportunity for training, such variation from normal functioning on the part of the deaf and the blind is partly or wholly minimized.

Bodily states may be more or less influential in determining behavior, but perhaps in unexpected ways. A very small and a very large brain (40 to 70 ounces) may function equally well, but a slight difference in weight or activity of the pituitary gland or the thyroid gland may produce serious disturbances of both bodily and mental functioning. Again, slight changes in environment and food may produce disproportionate changes in functioning. For example, without decreasing the quantity of food, rats may be fed in ways that cause sex activity to cease, or that

cause a mother rat to devour her young instead of caring for them.

Since health always depends upon the harmonious adjustment of functions to each other and to the environing situations, the limits of possible or probable healthful variation in individual traits can be determined only by observing the reactions of the individual with his special endowments to his particular environment, and noting their approximation to normal.

In contrast to many examples of one-legged men selling pencils and shoestrings on the street, the writer saw one member of the team at an interschool basketball game playing the game quite as successfully as his partners, although he had only one leg. He hopped rapidly from one end of the hall to the other and, when not in action, leaned against the wall. By his skill in catching and in throwing the ball he made up for his inability to pick it up from the floor. His success in competing in a situation where he was most handicapped gives assurance that his mental functioning was reasonably healthy.

CASE 12.—W——— was becoming deaf. He was much concerned about it and went to several doctors. They gave him little encouragement. In a short time he gave up his work and returned to his father's farm. He seemed to feel that he was disgraced because he was deaf, and was very sensitive about it. He went very few places and did not want to meet his old friends. He started in the poultry business, and for a time was very successful. Gradually he grew more unsocial, going nowhere.

About six years ago, the girl he had formerly been engaged to went back to visit some friends. He saw her, and, strange as it may seem, they became engaged again. For a time all went well. He appeared really to try to adjust himself and to be more social. This did not continue long, however, and he soon settled back into his state of unsociability. He thinks it is of no use to try to do anything because he is deaf. He constantly says that he has nothing, and can do nothing, and that no one wants him. At first he was interested in trying to use a hearing device, but now he will not try, saying it is

of no use. However, the people who try to talk with him say he can hear much better when he uses it.

His fiancée is trying to find some way to awaken his interest in life and to overcome this condition. At present it seems hopeless. He is ruining her life as well as his own.

Note the following case in sharp contrast.

CASE 13.—A district school superintendent discovered that his hearing was becoming affected, and the treatment only made certain that he would grow worse. His days in the schoolroom were numbered. He always had a liking for the study of medicine and kindred interests, so he turned all possible assets into cash, took his family (wife and two children), and entered upon the course at the school of osteopathy at Kirksville, Missouri.

He completed the three-year course, located in the South in time to work in the "flu" epidemic in 1918, where he was very successful. Later, for the sake of putting his children into a northern school, he had the courage to make a new start in his native city. Here he is practising to-day, and has been very successful. He has educated his children, has a beautiful home and an assured standing in the community. He is able to carry on a conversation with one person, but is lost in a general gathering. He leads a happy, busy life, and he and his wife count the lean years of study and the leaner ones of becoming reëstablished, as just part of life's adventures.

CASE 14.—Tom was, I believe, about ten years of age when an accident happened which for months threatened his life. One summer morning after driving the cattle to pasture his horse became frightened and ran away. The boy was thrown over a fence into a rock-strewn field. It seemed as if almost every bone in his body was broken. He suffered a slight fracture of the skull, severe cuts in the face. Worst of all, it was necessary to amputate both arms near the shoulders. The fact that he was unusually strong and healthy had much to do with his survival.

When Tom began to recover, he found himself without arms and with one short leg, the latter due to improper setting. The time came, however, when he was able to move about the house. During the early stages it was necessary to feed him, dress him, bathe him, in fact perform for him every duty that the natural boy would perform for himself.

The boy had been thinking during all this time and soon managed to do little things for himself. He persisted in his efforts to make his feet serve every purpose possible, and by the time he was able to return to school was able to "write a fair hand" with his foot, if such an expression can be used. Notwithstanding his handicap Tom managed to keep up with his classes in school, but how to develop to the point of making himself as little a burden as possible to others and later earning a living for himself became an obsession with him. In the course of time he learned to drive nails by holding one with the toes of his left foot while grasping the hammer with his right. In the same way he learned to saw and split wood. In time he became almost an expert in the use of tools.

There was some musical talent in the family, and Tom began practising upon various instruments with his brother William, who has been with him through all the succeeding years. Tom became a proficient drummer, playing both snare and bass drum simultaneously while his brother played the fife or some other instrument. He became an excellent slide-trombone soloist, again manipulating the difficult instrument with his foot. The trumpet also became one of his specialties. He and his brother developed a very entertaining and most interesting program of instrumental duets.

Most country boys are fond of a gun, and hunting is one of their diversions. Tom was no different from the others, and, though he was not able to go hunting with the others, he became an expert with the small rifle, shooting the fire from the end of a cigarette held in his brother's mouth. He also shoots the pip out of an ace of playing cards.

His fame traveled to Rochester, the nearest city to his home and a vaudeville manager called upon his parents. What is called an "act" was put together giving Tom an opportunity to exhibit his talents under favorable circumstances. He and brother William at once came into prominence in vaudeville circles and soon were working steadily and earning a salary larger than they had ever dreamed. They have traveled around the world, spending several months in Australia and in cities of the Orient where there are theaters.

Tom strenuously objects to being regarded as a "freak." Circus side-shows and museums he disdained, preferring to depend upon real skill and talent, rather than upon anything about him that might be regarded as abnormal. He drove a team of horses through the streets of New York City before such a thing as an automobile was

known. Swimming is one of his accomplishments; he once swam the East River at New York City. He and his brother built a thirty-foot cabin launch in Chicago, and later Tom, who had obtained a pilot's license, piloted it through Lakes Michigan and Erie to Buffalo, through the canal and down the Hudson to New York City. Another of his accomplishments is that he is a fair artist in crayon. He takes care of all the correspondence, manipulating the typewriter with his toes, inserts and removes the sheets of paper, signs the letter with a pen, places it in an envelope and addresses it.

Tom is an omnivorous reader, an interesting conversationalist, and is one of the cheeriest and best-natured men I have ever met. He long since ceased to regard his condition as a handicap.

CASE 15.—The statement by Menninger, "Depressed people are potential suicides," made me think of the following case. The father of a girl friend of mine, Mr. X——, was always a very moody person. When he was about forty years old, he was involved in an accident that made his mental condition much worse. Mr. X—— worked in a mill and by an accident not his fault cut off a man's hand in the machinery. He ran the saw, the other man's glove caught in the machinery and the accident occurred. Mr. X—— could not recover from the shock and continuously blamed himself. Several times he tried to return to his work, or to work in other mills, but could not do any type of work satisfactorily.

Mr. X——'s wife had to go to work to support the family, and they all went to live with her parents. It troubled him because he could not support his family, and he was mentally disturbed most of the time. One day he heard his mother-in-law talking with the doctors on the telephone about taking him to the State Hospital at C—— for examination; that afternoon he committed suicide by cutting his throat with a razor. He did not die for several hours and seemed to feel very badly to think he had done such a thing.

CASE 16.—Mr. S—— had worked for a railroad company for a number of years and as the result of an accident was obliged to have his left arm amputated. Previous to this he had been well and strong and had always led an active life. When he recovered from the operation, he was eager to get to work again and decided to take up gardening. At this time he was about sixty years of age.

By a clever arrangement of straps around the neck and shoulders with hooks attached to the ends he was able to do all the necessary work. He could harness and take care of his horse. He could place his plow and other tools in the wagon. He could plow, plant, and hoe and do all the other work in the garden and do it well. He not only took care of his own garden but worked for others, in this way being able to add to his income. He always seemed cheerful and was never heard to complain.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. Write a description of two persons you know, one mentally healthy and the other mentally unhealthy.
2. In each of the Cases 1A to 4B pick out the most important facts indicating mental health and those indicating mental ill health.
3. Would most persons you know be happier and healthier if they sought to increase the number and intensity of their emotions, or if they followed an opposite policy?
4. Are emotions of value in the world of affairs, or a disturbing influence?
5. May a person of deficient mentality be mentally healthy? Are highly intelligent people always mentally healthy?
6. Of two children, one of whom fights a great deal, while the other avoids all companionship, which is most likely to remain mentally healthy? Why?
7. Does jealousy indicate a lack of perfect mental health? Why?
8. Describe the adjustments you have made at examination time. Could you have made more efficient or healthful adjustments?
9. Read the adjustment plans in Cases 5 to 11 and select features likely to be useful to nearly every one confronted with extra work.
10. Give descriptions of the adjustments you or some persons you know have made to other life situations, such as changes in surroundings, companions, or vocations, or because of failure of previous plans.
11. Give a full report of some person handicapped by endowment or environment or accident, showing his reactions to the situations confronting him.
12. In the cases quoted do you think that there was any unnecessary or harmful overcompensating for handicaps?

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CHAPTER II

COMMONALITY, INDIVIDUALITY AND NORMALITY

A biological view. All members of a species are alike. Plants and animals are classified as belonging to particular groups, orders, families, species, or varieties on the basis of similarity of all the members of each class. Maple trees are different from oak trees, and rabbits bear little resemblance to squirrels. There are varieties of oaks, maples, rabbits, or squirrels difficult to distinguish from other varieties of the same species, but most individual plants and animals have well defined traits by which they may be classified.

These traits of species are often very persistent. Embedded in specimens of amber estimated to be sixty millions of years old, have been found ants exactly like the individuals of species now living. During all this time countless generations of such ants have been produced, and each generation probably behaved as members of the same species may now be observed to act. Some species of sea life have remained practically unchanged for a billion years.

In some instances, however, remains of animals have been found which, though resembling animals of to-day, differ so much from them as not to be identified as belonging to any species now in existence. Sometimes successive forms of animal life are found having characteristics more and more like certain animals that now inhabit the earth. This indicates that traits of species are subject to change, but that in general they are very persistent.

There is no reason to suppose that dogs and cats, horses and cattle, hens and ducks, or men and monkeys were any less dif-

ferent from each other in the essential traits of their species a few thousand years ago when first mentioned in history, than are their representatives of to-day. There are, however, more varieties of cats, dogs, etc., than existed a few hundred years ago, and some have been developed in the course of the last few decades. Periods of time, generally much longer than those of recorded history, are necessary for nature to change the essential traits of any species of animals.

The above truths apply equally to man. For thousands of years he has had the same general form and physiological organization and has used his mental powers in procuring food, rest, safety, shelter, mates, and in carrying on group life. He is always and everywhere so much the same that he understands the behavior of men of every tribe and nation and can communicate with them by means of natural signs suggestive of the essentials of living.

This truth of the similarity of members of a species must be set beside a seemingly contradictory one: that no individual is ever precisely like any other individual of the species. Persons who have tried to do so have never succeeded in finding two oak leaves or two grains of wheat that are precisely alike in every detail. Each individual plant or animal, in its parts and in the way in which its parts are related to each other in the whole structure, has distinctive features.

In applied sciences, especially those of psychology, medicine, and education, many errors have been made because of the failure to determine whether certain observed facts are such as come under the general truth that all members of a species are alike, or the one asserting that all individuals are different. If individual traits are classed as species traits, the general truths formulated are incorrect; while the application of correct generalizations to traits that are individual leads to errors. It is the chief business of the pure sciences of biology and psychology to determine what facts are limited to the individual and what hold

true for nearly all members of the species. It is the responsibility of doctors and educators to modify their prescriptions and practices according as the trait and situation being dealt with is general or individual; for example, in prescribing the amount of exercise, or the special course of study to be taken.

This distinction is necessary in determining not only the means to be used, but also the ends desired. Is it desirable to act in dealing with individuals so that they will become more alike or more different from each other? The breeder of domestic animals and of agricultural products finds that there are many advantages in producing varieties of cattle and hogs, wheat, and apples, so that every specimen sold is as nearly as possible like the sample shown. Some of the most important problems in education are concerned with deciding whether to change individuals so they will become more like every one else; to seek to make them like special groups only; or to make them more distinctly individual.

Commonality and individuality in men. Perfectly constructed squares or circles have practically no individuality since they can differ only in size. Such objects as machine-made chairs or typewriters have much in common, but have also some individual differences, especially after they have been used. All organic things are complex enough to show marked individuality. Man with his very complex physiological structure, especially of the brain, has more possibilities of being individually different in the various parts, and the way in which they are combined into a whole, than any other creature. Also he is plastic during a long period of infancy and is subject to modifying influences during the whole of his comparatively long life. The peculiarities of individual human behavior are so marked that many persons become almost unconscious of the truth that all men are alike. Some even say that no general statements about men can be made because they differ so much individually. Nevertheless, a broad view of human behavior and of old historical

human documents reveals a high degree of similarity in the structure, activities, and interests of all men in all ages. Exact studies of anatomy, physiological functioning, and behavior also give a sound basis for formulating truths that apply to all or nearly all human beings and make possible the development of the various sciences of man such as physiology, psychology, and sociology.

The *limits of individuality* for the members of each species are comparatively small. All men are nearly bilaterally symmetrical in form, with two eyes, two ears, two cheeks, two halves of the brain, two arms, two legs, etc. Their bone structure is nearly the same, yet there are occasionally individual variations from usual number of ribs, vertebræ, fingers, and toes. They have the same internal organs, similar in relative size and location, although the heart is occasionally on the right side instead of the left, and blood vessels of considerable size are sometimes found by surgeons in unexpected places.

The number of persons in a given region varying more than six inches from the average height, or more than fifty pounds from the average weight, is a very small percentage of the population. Except for a very few giants and dwarfs, the tallest people anywhere are not twice the height of the shortest. Allowing for sex, the majority of adults are within one foot of the same height, and exceedingly few of the tallest are two feet taller than the shortest.

Differences in physiological functioning are small. Nearly all adults have a pulse rate of close to seventy beats per minute, although occasionally an individual may normally have a rate of ten or fifteen either above or below that rate. If in sickness the rate varies too much from a person's normal rate, death is likely to be the result. Nearly all human beings have a body temperature close to 98°, and a variation of more than five degrees from that temperature is serious.

Individuals near the average in size and proportion of parts

and in functional activity *are always* more numerous than those farther away from the average. This is a general truth revealed by measurements of unselected groups of plants and animals of the same species. High and low scores of whatever kind are also fewer than those near the average.

Nature approves individuals who are in all respects *close to the average* of the species. After a severe storm, over one hundred sparrows were picked up in an inanimate condition and put in a warm place. Careful measurements made of all of them showed that those that recovered were nearer the average in size and proportion of parts than those that did not revive. Plant and animal breeders recognize the significance of conformity to type by selecting for ordinary breeding purposes the plants, seeds, and animals that are near the usual for the variety being bred, rather than those showing extreme variation: the well-formed slightly larger ear of corn, or individual hog of good proportion and size, rather than the largest ear of corn or hog.

This general truth has some limitations. Where all the conditions of living remain the same for countless generations there are few exceptions; but where environment is changing in a way that makes it harder for a species to survive, the average individuals may all die, while a few who have some trait favoring their survival in the new situation may live and produce descendants having this characteristic in a marked degree. Millions of dollars have been added to the agricultural industry by selecting a few rust-resisting specimens of wheat in a field and breeding from them varieties of wheat that are immune to rust.

When a breeder desires to change a domestic plant or animal so as to increase some desirable quality and decrease an undesirable one, he looks for unusual individuals or produces them by cross-breeding, and then selects for breeding the ones having the quality desired. Thus it is through the great number of near-average individuals that every species is preserved and kept un-

changed as long as the environment remains the same; but it is through the unusual individuals that species are preserved under unusual conditions, or new varieties produced.

Man approves of the usual or near-average individual of his own kind. Ugly deformities are objectionable to him, as well as marked variation from the usual. A person having six fingers or toes instead of five is not admired and is himself uncomfortable because of this difference from his fellow men. Freaks of all sorts are subjects of curiosity and are either loathed or pitied, but never envied. Individuals possessing a harmonious combination of qualities—strength, beauty, wit—are envied, but generally this is not true of a person having one trait out of proportion to all his other traits. The white varieties of men approve those of their own color, while colored races approve of those more like themselves. No group of people would have a favorable attitude toward a spotted black-and-white individual, a few of whom have been reported recently. Birth-marks in the form of red splotches are often a great trial to persons who have them because of the slight repugnance of their companions to their appearance. If everybody had such marks, then the one lacking them would be repugnant to his companions. Variations from the usual in hair and in clothing are also looked upon with disfavor.

To an even greater degree, any one who does not dress, eat, or speak as others do, or conform to the usual in work or play, is disapproved. Moral and religious disapproval is often strong, not so much because of the essential nature and natural results of the acts of non-conformity, as because they represent unusual variations from long established and generally observed customs.

The above truths are subject in some degree to the same limitations as in biology. In times of social change the unusual individual may come to the front, receive approval, and, because of his unusual qualities, may bring about extensive changes in customs and ideals which are more and more favored by in-

dividuals of the new type rather than by those of the old and formerly approved type: for example, the business man, rather than the soldier or priest, now dominates world affairs.

Abnormal has two different but related meanings, one literal and the other medical. Literally it means away from the normal or usual. In this sense an individual is abnormal in proportion as he differs from the average of his kind. Giants and midgets are quite abnormal, as also are geniuses and idiots. Sometimes a giant is well proportioned, vigorous, and long-lived, and the same is true of midgets, although a much larger proportion of them are less vigorous and shorter-lived than persons who are near the average. Geniuses and idiots are also less likely to be well balanced than persons of near the average intelligence.

Persons who, in related characteristics, vary in the same direction from the normal are much less abnormal than those who vary in opposite directions; if a person is considerably taller than the normal height but proportionally heavier so that he weighs only a little more per inch of height, he is much less abnormal than if he is taller than the average but weighs less. That traits should be combined in the usual way is more significant than the extent of variation of traits from the average. Slender children, whose height-weight coefficient is low, and stout children whose coefficient is high, are less likely to be in good health than those whose coefficient is near the average. In many schools a variation in coefficient of 8 per cent below, or 15 per cent above the average is deemed a justification for giving a physical examination to determine whether the child is in good physical condition.

In medicine *abnormal* indicates functioning that varies not only from the usual functioning of most people, but from what is usual for the individual, and which does not show signs of a quick return to the normal. A pulse rate of under 60 or above 80 is abnormal in the first meaning of the word, but an individual whose pulse rate differs consistently by ten beats from the av-

erage is not necessarily sick or abnormal in the medical sense of the word. If he has always had a fast or a slow pulse which returns quickly to what is usual for him after being disturbed by exercise or other causes, and if other functions are not unfavor-

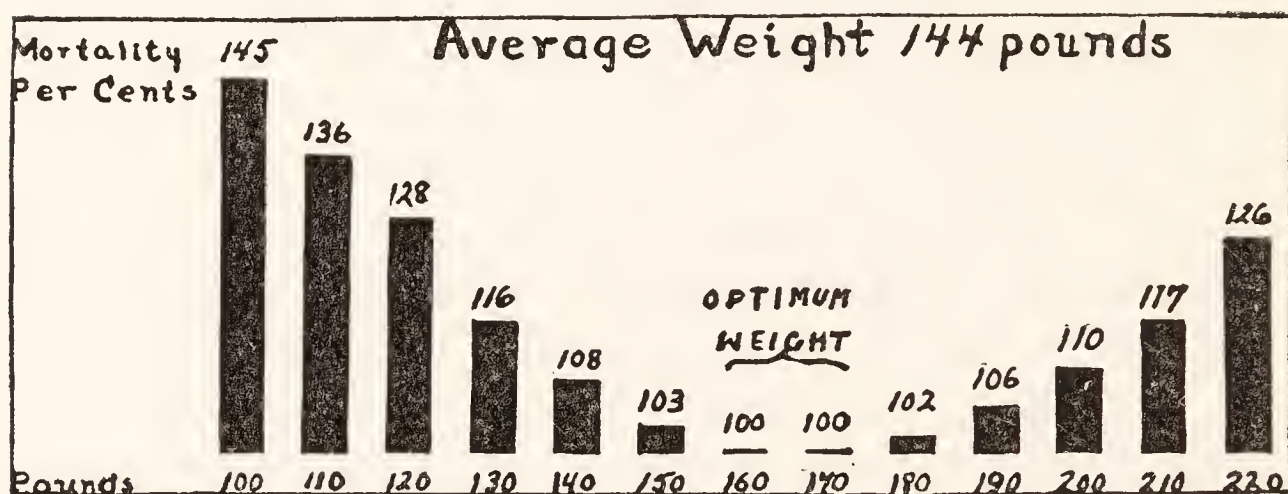


CHART I.—MORTALITY RATES ACCORDING TO WEIGHT FOR THE AGES FROM 20 TO 24 YEARS, THE AVERAGE HEIGHT BEING 68.5 INCHES.

It will be seen from chart I that the mortality risk at the ages of from 20 to 24 years, for both underweight and overweight persons, increases practically 1 per cent for each pound under and 0.5 per cent for each pound over optimum weight. Increased mortality means increased morbidity, lowered resistance and lessened efficiency. Because of this increase in the mortality risk, those seriously underweight or overweight are rejected as impaired risks by the army and by insurance companies.

Reproduced and quoted from "Physical Unfitness in the Preparatory School," by William R. P. Emerson, published in *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, September, 1932, Vol. 44. Chart taken from *Report of the Medico-Actuarial Investigation of 1912* for the period 1885-1908 (New York, Spectator Company, 1912), Vol. 2.

ably affected, his rate is not abnormal in the medical sense. On the other hand, whatever one's usual pulse rate, any unaccountable tendency toward increase or decrease of rate is abnormal in the medical sense.

No absolute *limits* can be set to variations from the average that will justify the term *abnormal* in the medical sense. The only sure means of judging is to note whether the divergence is increasing and extending to other functions. These truths apply not only to physical but to mental functioning. The con-

text will usually indicate which meaning of the word abnormal is being stressed.

In comparing individual traits and activities *identity of scores* does not have the same meaning for the several individuals unless these individuals are fundamentally alike in other respects. A pulse rate of one hundred is far from the usual standard but does not indicate an equally serious condition for a man, a woman, a small child, one who has just finished a race, or for one whose usual pulse rate is above or below the average.

One of the most common mistakes has been to regard any norm or average, when it has been determined, as an ideal to be attained instead of using it as a standard or measure of group and individual differences. Some men have used standards like Procrustes of old, who fitted travelers to his bed by chopping them off, or stretching them out to its exact length. Physiologists, sociologists, and educators have never been quite so mechanical in their use of standards as Procrustes but have at times attempted to approach his extreme of conformity.

The similarity of all members of a species or other group is due to a number of coöperating factors of heredity and environment. When an individual or a group diverges in marked degree from the usual type for the larger group, it merely shows that one or more of the factors concerned has been modified. An attempt to bring the individual or group back to the usual type by just any means that will show results, such as starving fat people, stuffing lean ones, or making a pupil who is poor in arithmetic give up all his other studies to practise arithmetic until he reaches the standard, is not to be advised. In dealing with complex creatures like man, the determination of averages or norms to which all individuals of the group approximate is a preliminary to intelligent study of the causes of variations in individuals and of what may wisely be done about them. There are always two questions to be answered: one concerned with the results that are desirable, and the other with the means

that in the long run will help most in attaining these desires. If an individual is by heredity of the slender type, there is a loss rather than a gain in physical vigor in trying to increase his height-weight ratio; and if one is by heredity of the short, sturdy type, there is nothing gained by trying to make him conform to the usual average. If, however, deficiency or excess in weight in relation to height is the result of too little food or too much food, to the use of improper foods, or to special activities or diseases, it is worth while to discover the disturbing factor and to change it so that the individual will become more like his fellows.

Changing the human race. In view of the comparative fixity of species traits, it is absurd to consider trying to transform man into a wholly different creature, as has been visioned in some pictures of a superman. It is not absurd, however, to seek means of developing a race, all of whom will approximate the more desirable individuals who already exist. Opinions differ as to whether the aim should be (1) to make the members of the race more alike, (2) to develop greater specialization of varieties, or (3) to seek only that there shall be fewer inferior and more superior members. The last, however, is least objectionable and most feasible.

In a very general way, the means used are two: (1) that emphasized by *eugenists* who seek to arrange that more children of the superior type, and fewer of the less desirable type shall be born; and (2) that of *euthenists* who seek to improve all human beings by providing the best environing conditions for their development in the direction of desired standards. Frequently great changes in a nation of people may be made in one or two generations by euthenic means, while many generations would be needed for changing them as much by means of heredity. On the other hand, the changes produced by heredity are more permanent, lasting as long as the species lives, while

those produced by environment may disappear within a generation.

There are advantages in having all individuals of a group alike, but there are also advantages in having the group consist of individuals who differ considerably in their special abilities. The more complex forms of coöperation are possible only when there are persons of varying talents. Many believe that special skills can be developed to any desirable degree by education and training, while others think it worth while to produce such individuals partly by hereditary means, as is so successfully done in plant and animal breeding.

In view of such diversity of opinion it is well to note the general biological truth that there is a universal tendency for like plants and animals to mate. It is in this way that species and varieties are preserved for countless generations, while divergent individuals produced by crossings are comparatively few, though numerous enough to give rise under new conditions to varieties of the species. The selective mating of individual human beings, although subject to many variable and complex influences, in general conforms to this law. In this way superior and inferior varieties of human beings are perpetuated; also there is some tendency for those of the same type to associate with and mate with each other. If no eugenic program of trying to produce a race all alike, or a race consisting of specialized individuals, is carried out, the human race will continue to be composed of persons of varied endowments. The majority, as now, will be near the average. This average will, of course, be higher if fewer inferior and more superior individuals are produced.

The educational aspect. To the schools are sent children who differ greatly, partly because of home conditions and partly because of heredity. There, in response to the idealistic and practical demands of society, the attempt may be made to make these children more or less alike in a few or in many respects.

Educators generally admit that society may properly determine to a considerable degree what sort of citizens are desired, but as specialists in the field of producing changes by the process of education, teachers should have the full responsibility of selecting and using the means they find most effective in getting the results demanded. They, rather than the general public, should be regarded as experts in the use of educational means. It is desirable that teachers should be more intelligently conscious, not only of the efficiency of their methods for trying to make people alike in the ways in which society desires that they be alike, but also of the possible advantages and disadvantages of making them alike.

In the past it was customary to make all children right-handed, although a left-handed person is just as good a citizen. He is also just as useful to himself and to society except in the handling of a few implements, such as scissors. The more acute educators have observed that in some instances the attempt to train individuals, who by inheritance and practice are left-handed, to use their right hand in writing causes irritation and sometimes results in stammering, occasionally in slowness in learning to read. These results are probably largely psychological and often the result of unwise methods, but may be due in part to the physiological fact that the left brain dominates some of the language functions in right-handed people, and the right brain in left-handed people; the attempt to change produces inhibitions and conflicts in motor impulses as well as in ideas. Whatever the cause, educators now deem it unwise to insist upon *all* children becoming right-handed.

In most states the law requires that the teaching in the grades of public schools shall be in English. There can be no question that in any nation, especially a republic, it is of advantage for all citizens to be alike in understanding a common language. There are also advantages in having all use the same pronunciation, spelling, word forms, and sentence structure. However, if

printers know how to spell, individuality in spelling on the part of other people does little harm. In writing, the general form of the letters must be the same in order that there may be no difficulty in reading what is written. Much time is wasted, however, in the attempt to make all pupils write alike, although individuality in handwriting is inevitable.

In arithmetic much time is still spent in training pupils to perform the work and to write it out in the same way, and any attempt on the part of pupils to use individual methods is discouraged, even when correct answers are obtained, perhaps by a shorter method.

In the fields of history and citizenship the question of trying to make all pupils alike or each one individual in his knowledge and attitudes is difficult and complex. The facts taught should undoubtedly be reliable, and some of them should be the same for all pupils; but the prominence given to some facts rather than to others, as well as the interpretation of these facts, may be such as to lead all to the same beliefs and ideals, or to permit each to draw his own conclusions and to form his own ideals. In an autocratic government it is in the interest of self-preservation for the government to have all taught the same patriotic ideals. In a republic, such teaching might tend to destroy democracy by perpetuating the ideals and interests of the party in power.

Formerly all grades of schools offered few and definite courses of study which would naturally tend to make all educated people alike. In modern times, individuality is favored by allowing variety of choice in colleges, high schools, and junior high schools.

Factors determining individuality. (1) *Heredity*. The primary factors determining the general type to which every creature belongs are the minute germ or reproductive cells of two individuals of the same species. When two uniting germ cells are of different species, their developmental tendencies do

not harmonize well enough to produce offspring that survive. When the cells that meet to form a new individual are of the same species, nothing can be done that will cause this little organism to develop into anything other than a member of that species. The germ cells of corn produce corn; of pumpkins, pumpkins; of apples, apples; of dogs, dogs; and of human beings, human beings. The newly formed individual is thus predestined, if it lives and develops, to have the general characteristics of the group to which its parents belong. Its development of the characteristics of the group will proceed in much the same way as in its ancestors. Something may be done to change the rate or degree of emergence of ancestral traits, but very little to change their order and relationship. Probably more may be done to dwarf development than to increase it, so that an individual may be made to fall farther short of the species average in size, vigor, and length of life, than another individual of the same heredity can be made to exceed the average in these respects.

Not only does germ heredity predetermine species characteristics but also those of varieties, families, and individuals. It is now known that in the chromosomes of each germ cell there are minute determiners called *genes* which are practically unchangeable. The germ cells containing these genes assimilate nutriment and divide so as to increase the number of cells without changing the essential nature of the genes. Countless traits, such as color of hair and eyes, and a number of other bodily traits, and probably also many mental ones, are surely produced by the presence or absence of certain genes from one or both parental cells. A cross between a blond and a brunette, each of unmixed ancestry, results in children all of whom are dark. If, however, these children marry persons of similar mixed parentage, the genes combine in such a way that out of four children there is usually one that is of the pure blond ancestry, one of pure brunette ancestry, and two having both kinds of genes. These latter are dark, because black is generally dominant over

light when both kinds of genes are combined in one individual. It follows from the above that not only are species, family, and variety characteristics determined by germ heredity, but also some individual characteristics in members of the same family.

It is almost certain that individuality as regards tendency to stability, or lack of it, is inherited. Since genes of radically different species combined together do not harmonize with each other in their developmental tendencies well enough to keep a fertilized cell alive beyond a short stage of development, it is probable that the slightly different genes of parents of the same species may produce combinations that are more or less lacking in harmony of developmental tendencies. Lack of stability is undoubtedly more common in some families and in some individuals than in others. The psychopathic personality, when incurable, is probably the result of an inherited condition arising from combinations of genes which produce developmental tendencies that are conflicting rather than harmonious. Some individuals are so persistently harmonious in their functioning that physical and mental health cannot be permanently destroyed by the most serious and distorting experiences. On the other hand, the slightest experiences of an unfavorable character produce ill health or insanity in those having psychopathic tendencies. Exact knowledge of heredity of either psychopathic tendencies or of certain kinds of insanity is as yet lacking.

It is known that some traits are produced not by one gene, but the combination of several genes or determiners: for example, true red hair is produced by three determiners. There is good reason for believing that individual traits are always in part the result of germ heredity whether due to special combinations of one or of many genes of the two parents.

Children of the same parents, even twins, may differ markedly, because they are developed from different pairs of germ cells. The only individuals who have the same germ inheritance are identical twins, who are developed from the same two cells,

one from each parent. These on uniting become one, and when this divides, the distribution of genes is probably the same in the two parts. If there is complete separation after this first division of the cell, twins are formed instead of a single individual. Such twins must be as much alike as the two halves of other persons are like each other. Exact identity is lacking, however, probably because of differences in vitality, nutrition, and surroundings; hence even identical twins are not *exactly* alike at birth. They are more nearly alike than non-identical twins which are produced from different cells. The latter usually resemble each other more closely than ordinary siblings, however, because they are subjected to nearly the same environment.

(2) *Environment*. No living organism is independent of its environment. It can continue to exist only as the temperature and other conditions are favorable, and the food taken in is of a quality to admit of being assimilated into the body so as to supply the necessary chemical energy for movement, growth, and the continued functioning of the internal organs. When the environment is of a favorable type, most members of the species live and develop in the usual way. When the environing conditions are unusual and unfavorable, most members of the species fail to maintain life. All may die and the species become extinct, or some may survive and produce descendants of a different variety which can thrive in the new environment.

In the case of all mammals including man, the new individual produced by germ heredity is for a considerable period of the time largely protected from the world environment by being enclosed within the body of the mother. Her body is the environment, and all nutrition is supplied from her blood. There is, however, no direct nervous connection between mother and child. Occasional jars and changes in pressure and position are transmitted through her body and by her movements, and some of these are responded to by infants in the latter part of fetal life.

No doubt the variations in the *prenatal* experiences of children add somewhat to individual characteristics of infants at birth. The most important are those affecting the metabolism and blood supply of the mother. It is now known that serious deficiencies in individual infants are produced by abnormal functioning of the glands of the mother while the child is being carried. The evidence of this is clearest in the case of the thyroid gland. If this gland in the mother does not supply sufficient iodine for the growing fetus, physical and mental deficiency is shown by the infant. It is probable that the special type of feeble-minded individual designated as "Mongolian," not unfrequently born to parents of superior intelligence, is the result, not of germ heredity, but of glandular deficiencies.

There are, however, very definite limits to the changes that may be produced in the fetus by the environing body of the mother, and there is little or no ground for the old doctrine of "maternal impressions" which supposes that both the body and mind of a child is definitely "marked" by the mental experiences of the mother while the child is being carried. If these experiences are sufficiently intense to change greatly the glandular action and modify the character of the blood that supplies the fetus with nutriment, then the effects upon the child may be considerable. A severe emotional shock might thus be responsible for abnormalities of development of the fetus, but that an infant should be born looking like a pig because the mother was frightened by a hog rather than by some other animal, or with a birth-mark resembling a snake because the fright was caused by a snake, is scarcely within the realm of possibility.

It is not only possible but highly probable that the presence of venereal germs within the body of the mother, and possibly in the body of the father only, may greatly decrease the vitality of the fetus and modify its subsequent mental as well as physical development, providing it survives birth.

Various observations and experiments have been made that indicate that the vitality of germ cells is affected by the continued presence of alcohol or of other drugs in the bodies of parents. However, conclusions regarding the young developing from the reproductive cells that do survive are so conflicting that there is much disagreement among scientists as to the effects of parental use of alcohol upon children.

After birth the infant, though cared for by the mother, is very much less protected from his environment than when being carried. It is not possible for two children after birth to have exactly the same experiences even in the same home. In the case of twins who are together most of the time, the enviroing influences are nearly the same, but for children of different ages they are markedly different. The parents have been modified by their previous experiences, consequently children of different ages in the home are not all treated alike. Each child is also an important factor in the environment of the others, younger or older. Slight differences at birth increase in such an environment very rapidly, until it is a common observation that no two children of a family are alike.

It is impossible, however, to determine how much of this individuality is due to congenital differences and how much to differences in environment, so intimately are they related to each other.

(3) *Combinations of heredity and environment.* Individual differences are developed not only because of lack of similarity in the two factors of heredity and environment, but because of their time combinations. If exactly the same stimulus to fear comes to one child when he is in his parent's arms, and to another when he is alone, then all subsequent contacts with the dog or other stimulus may cause fear in one, and interested friendliness in the other. In general, differences produced by the timing and setting of special experiences and combinations of heredity and enviroing factors become greater and more numerous. How-

ever, some individual traits are usually obliterated by diverse experiences and by constant factors in the environment.

It is a great mistake to infer that the same heredity and environment will necessarily prevent the development of individuality. The personality is not produced by the addition in a mechanical way of the two factors, heredity and environment, but by the continued interaction of the two. Besides, there are internal growth changes and new outside stimuli to be taken into account.

The hereditary factor is not completely evident at birth, but is manifested in the process of maturing. This process is nearly the same in its general order of manifestation regardless of the effects of environment upon the rate and amount of development. Corn develops leaves, stalk, tassel, silk, cob, and grains as every member of the species has done from the beginning. The oak matures much more slowly but in an equally definite order. All animals, including man, pass through the various stages of infancy, youth, and maturity, attain the usual size and length of life, and engage in the behavior characteristics of the species because of their germ heredity. Without a sufficiently favorable environment individuals die, and in those that live great individual differences may be produced by changes in the environment not only in general, but at various stages of maturity. What would be fatal to healthy development at one stage may do no harm or even be advantageous at another stage.

Although behavior is more easily modified than structural traits, there is great similarity at a given age in the reactions of all members of each species and variety to the environment. Cats everywhere behave quite differently from dogs or cows. Varieties of dogs, also, such as hounds or bulldogs, differ from other varieties in ways of growling and fighting, even when given exactly the same training. Yet no two animals of the same variety behave exactly the same.

Human beings have a long period of immaturity before reach-

ing adulthood and are subject to the modifying influence of environment during a long lifetime, hence they have more opportunities to develop individual traits than any other creature. Nevertheless, a constant physical and cultural environment tends to make all become alike in some respects. The differences vary according to the time at which they come into action and their possible accumulative effects. As a consequence the ways are infinite in which members of the same family differ from, or resemble, each other in maturity and old age.

In spite of constant change many of the traits manifested in early life are permanently preserved. A child who is large at six years of age is likely to be large at twelve if conditions for growth are at all favorable. In a similar way, if he has a superior intelligence at six years, or even at six months, he is likely to be above the average during subsequent stages of development. His general bodily form and features are retained, though considerably modified. Some gestures may also be retained as permanent individual characteristics, but knowledge, interests, and behavior change with the years. However, there is continuity and, in general, consistency of individuality as it develops in a wider or changing environment.

CASE 1.—This is the case of a girl whose physical ugliness was the reason for a sense of inferiority. She had fire-red hair, countless freckles, and weak eyes that necessitated the wearing of glasses. As a very little child she was clumsy, toed in, and was inclined to be afraid to use her body. Her parents, brothers and sisters laughed at her attempts to walk and run, and her falling down so often. She grew very rapidly and was far too large and heavy for her age. The children called her "Red Head," "Freckle Face," and "Elephant" and laughed at her, telling her she was the homeliest girl they knew. She became more conscious of her appearance. She did not take part in sports or games. She was afraid of attempting the simplest thing. This lack of confidence extended to every part of her life. She was sure she was so big and homely that no man could ever care for her. She tried to compensate by an overdevelopment of intellectual interests, but even here she had not the confidence that her ability

warranted. She graduated from the normal commercial course, got a position that she kept about a month, felt she couldn't do the work, and gave it up. The next year she went back to normal school and took the general course. Since then she has been doing lower grade work.

She is just beginning now, when she is over forty years old, to analyze her own behavior, to get self-confidence intellectually and socially, as well as the free use of her body.

CASE 2.—Mrs. D—— is an example of how a dominant personality can mutilate the personality of the more plastic members of her family.

The woman in question was a striking-looking, intelligent person, the mother of four children. The eldest girl, a very attractive looking young lady, would not be dominated by her mother, but left home and became a nurse; afterwards she was disowned by her mother because she married a doctor who was not a Christian.

Twin boys came next, and the mother decided that James must become a clergyman, and his whole life was directed along this line. Both boys were fine athletes but did not learn easily and found languages especially difficult. After spending six years in high school Eugene went into his father's business; James entered college and in his second year was called into the World War.

On his return he again took up his studies and was graduated from college after eight years' work. He entered the theological seminary when thirty-one and was ordained after six years more of hard study, one year after the death of his mother.

James is a curate in a small parish where he has the sympathetic love of his people, for he is unhealthy both physically and mentally, and he has intermittent lapses of memory. Only last Sunday as he was conducting divine services, he turned to his congregation and asked to be excused for he had forgotten how to proceed with the ceremony.

The boys were identical twins, and it was difficult to tell them apart while in their early school life. Now Eugene is a fine-looking successful business man, the picture of health and seems to enjoy life, while James is frail and has the look of a saint in a church mural.

CASE 3.—Both Eleanor and her brother Stanley had a most undesirable background. Their father died when they were very tiny; the mother had become a pronounced drunkard at the time the state was forced to take the children from her. Both children had lived on

the streets, selling papers, begging, etc. Eleanor was an unusually pretty child with a sweet singing voice, and she had been accustomed to singing around saloons and other questionable places to earn a few pennies. It was her beauty and sweet voice that attracted her foster mother who took her when she was seven years of age and gave her the best of physical care. The foster mother gave her a most peculiar training—she held before her the idea that some day she would be an heiress, and that since she was now her daughter, she was much better than any one else and must excel in everything. As Eleanor grew older, her mother's hopes were dashed, one by one. The mother was very stingy and saving and would not buy the child the ordinary playthings any child should have because she wanted to have a great deal of money to leave the daughter. Eleanor made up for her lack of playthings by stealing from the children in the neighborhood.

She proved to be a miserable failure in school and in music, although given expensive courses in piano and voice training. Her good looks vanished as she became older, and she became a greedy, furtive individual, much disliked by every one.

She finally married a most ordinary young man. The mother, thoroughly disgusted with her, refused to let her live at home, and the girl went to live in a miserable home that she was incapable of even caring for. The mother blamed the girl's failure on the girl, but I believe that Eleanor's failure to meet life was not due to herself as much as it was to the peculiar training she had.

The brother, Stanley, adopted at the same time in a near-by town, was brought up in an ordinary home, treated as one of the children, sharing all their joys and sorrows. He made a splendid record in school, worked his way through college and law school, and is now a rising young lawyer. He is considered a splendid young man and has done more for his foster parents than their own children have done.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. It has been said that a few centuries of riding rather than walking, and of much use of the brains would result in the human species having small weak legs and enormous heads. Do you believe it? Give reasons.

2. Give an instance of confusion that has occurred in medicine and in education between what is true of man as a species and man as an individual.

3. Which were most alike, the bodies of early and of modern man, their emotions, or their ideas?

4. Give an instance of a person differing greatly from the average in size, strength, or intelligence, whose mental health you think is unfavorably affected by the trait.

5. How are special varieties developed, such as White Plymouth Rock fowls? After being developed, what kinds are chosen for breeding?

6. Which has greatest influence on popularity—bodily form, dress, or behavior?

7. Is it more dangerous to be greatly different from others in behavior or in beliefs?

8. Give illustrations of abnormalities that are or are not abnormal in the medical meaning of the word.

9. Mention some ways in which the educator Procrustes tries to make pupils fit the educational "bed."

10. Should a special educational "bed" be provided for every pupil? Why?

11. Is question 10 related to the question, "To what extent should schools try to develop commonality?"

12. If the attempt were made to produce a group of human beings greatly superior in running ability, or in ability to add numbers rapidly, what means would be used by eugenists and what by euthenists? How could both of these means be used most effectively?

13. Why is it that children are more often mentally disturbed by being required to write with the right hand after having begun to use the left, than adults who, on account of an accident, are obliged to substitute the use of one hand for the other?

14. Should schools seek to produce as much commonality in the ideals of children as in language forms? Why?

15. Name some individual traits that you think are due chiefly to heredity, and some you think due chiefly to environment.

16. How do you account for the fact that there is greater resemblance between adult non-identical twins than between siblings born several years apart?

17. Was the inferiority feeling described in Case 1 due to heredity or environment, or to the combination of these two? Could the family have prevented it? How?

18. Do you believe that the inefficiency of James in Case 2 was caused chiefly by the dominance of the mother, though the facts

stated offer no other explanation of his difference from Eugene? In other words, if the mother had chosen the same unsuitable occupation for Eugene, would he have been the weakling?

19. Do you agree with the writer of Case 3?

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CHAPTER III

COMBINATIONS OF FACTORS FAVORING NORMAL ADJUSTMENTS

For the majority of people the factors favoring normal adjustments are:

1. Normal or usual physical and mental endowment
2. Usual physical and social environment
3. Advantageous matching of endowment and environment

1. **Normal endowment.** The usual endowment is in most cases favorable to physical and mental health. Such endowment makes one more likely to begin life with healthy functioning. It gives him more opportunities to associate with near-average individuals. He finds himself with from 60 per cent to 80 per cent of persons who are very much like himself, while the superior and the inferior person finds associates similar to himself in only from ten to twenty people out of every hundred, and the *very* superior or *very* inferior individual meets fewer than one person in a hundred like himself. Also, the standards of conduct and achievement are, in general, suited to the desires and abilities of the near-average persons, are poorly adjusted to inferior and superior persons, are quite unsuited to very superior individuals, and are absolutely impossible of attainment by very inferior or feeble-minded persons.

One who has not the usual endowment may be at a disadvantage because of physical or mental deficiency, because of some lack of harmony of functioning that will make adjustment to the usual environment difficult, or because of superior powers not adequately exercised. The deaf, the blind, the crippled, the sick, the feeble-minded, and the insane are frequently

incapable of adjusting to the usual environment. With those of their own kind, however, handicapped individuals lose consciousness of their deficiency. In the best institutions for the blind, deaf, feeble-minded, and insane, and in a very few prisons, the inmates are treated as nearly as possible like people of normal endowment and are encouraged to behave like normal persons.

Parents of deaf and blind children are advised to adopt this policy. The advantages of this kind of treatment are perhaps greatest for deaf children. If from infancy they are talked to just as if they could hear, they learn to read the lips; when they go to an institution, they are far in advance of children not thus dealt with, not only in having a language but in their social development. The chief advantage of sending them to an institution is that they may compete and coöperate naturally and healthfully with others of their own kind. There they have more successes and less of the feeling of inferiority or peculiarity than when they are surrounded by people having the endowments that they lack.

There is no doubt that insane persons should be dealt with as far as possible as if they were sane; but there are disadvantages in permitting them to associate closely with other insane persons, especially the more nervous and violent ones. Probably no institution can furnish as good social contacts and occupations for insane persons as are offered in well selected private homes. This procedure is practised in Denmark under direction of asylum authorities, who give patients such medical care and supervision as is needed, while they work and live as normal members of a family.

Criminals in prisons are rarely given opportunity to practise normal ways of living; hence their moral and mental disorders are increased rather than decreased.

Slight peculiarities of physical and mental endowment are sometimes more productive of maladjustments than are excessive peculiarities. Companions make allowances for the obviously

feeble-minded, insane, or the highly artistic individual, while the person who is just a little different is ridiculed, blamed, or thwarted in some way because he is not like his companions. Individual adjustments between nearly average persons who are opposites in certain respects are also often difficult.

People having some portion of the body of unusual size or form, and those possessing unusual interests or talents that are not in themselves bars to success, may find it difficult to make adjustments because of the way in which they are treated or regarded by others.

Of three boys of the same age, equally well formed, healthy, and intelligent, but differing greatly in size, one being very large, another very small, and the third of average size, the latter is more likely to make satisfactory social adjustments than either of the others. More of his companions are likely to be his equals, and this favors successful adjustments. Adults will treat him as they do other boys of his size, and he will readily learn to act as others of his stage of development are expected to act and are acting. His responsibilities will be the same as for others of his size, and he will be expected to measure up to the usual standards.

None of these things are true for the boys of unusual size. In general, the large boy associates with boys of his own size, most of whom are older; or, at adolescence, with adults who treat him as if he were older than he is, applying standards of achievement and conduct more rigidly than they would to boys of the usual size. The small boy associates with companions younger than himself and is treated by adults as if he were younger, and given more credit for successes than his age deserves.

In general, the large-sized boy is more likely to become a problem child than the very small boy. Dr. William Healy found a number of oversized boys with no bad heredity or physical or mental handicaps who were out of adjustment with home,

school, and society, but he reports very few such cases of under-sized boys.

The small boy's greater comparative success in meeting expectations is probably a reason for his being better adjusted in the majority of cases than the large boy of equal intelligence. In any case, the problems of the large and the small boys in adjusting to life situations are quite different. There is danger that the small boy will be over-protected and given little responsibility, but, on the other hand, his successes in meeting responsibilities and standards are over-emphasized, thus stimulating him to further achievement.

The large boy is likely to be freed from too much coddling, but his failures to meet expectations are emphasized. This often makes him less ready to undertake responsibilities, and makes adults less ready to trust him. Thus he gets out of harmony with those in authority, especially if his intelligence is somewhat below normal. If the large boy is a little above, rather than below, average in mental endowment, his physical strength and association with older companions are of advantage to him.

Large size continues to be of advantage in adult life, while small size is often something of a handicap. In any case, the whole attitude of a small man and of a large one toward their fellows and toward life situations is in part determined by their size: for example, in a fight a large man uses fists, and a small man uses a knife, stone, or club; a small man speaking to an audience is more at home than a tall man on a high platform. For the average person size is a minor factor in all situations of life, while for large or small persons it has influence, consciously or sub-consciously, upon almost every situation to which adjustments are made. All marked variations in physical and mental endowments similarly influence the reactions and adjustments of the person possessing them, and this influence is great in proportion as the trait is special in character.

Contrary to popular opinion, the child of superior general

intelligence is less likely to develop abnormal traits than one of unusual size. A study of 1,000 gifted children (those with I.Q. of 140 or more) made under the direction of Terman showed that abnormal personalities among them were fewer than among unselected children of corresponding ages. A re-study of these same gifted children five or six years later gave similar results, but revealed that a few of those with an I.Q. of 170 or greater were behavior problems. Blanchard who studied a group of 1,200 problem children found several times as many of them were gifted as Terman found to be troublesome among his 1,000 gifted children. The explanation, of course, is that Blanchard's group is one marked for troublesomeness, contains fewer who are of average intelligence, and more who are different from their fellows. The intelligent, troublesome children usually exhibited temper tantrums, day-dreamed, or tried to dominate. The girls usually showed hyperactivity.

Superior intelligence doubtless helps children and youths to make better ultimate adjustments than inferior intelligence; hence there are many more who have low I.Q.s than high I.Q.s among insane or criminal adults, though on this point there is great divergence in the statistics given by different investigators.

Another fact of importance is that high intelligence is more often found associated with other favorable traits than is large size; hence high intelligence is less likely to produce difficulties of adjustment. In Terman's list those children superior in intelligence were usually from superior homes; they were larger, more healthy, and more advanced in school achievements than the average. A few were deficient in manual skill, often chiefly because of lack of interest.

The child of superior intelligence who is encouraged to develop his intellectual interests and abilities to excess, so that he gets entirely out of touch with those of his own age, especially in athletics and similar activities, is indeed unfortunate. If, on the other hand, he is given little opportunity to develop in ac-

cordance with his abilities in legitimate ways, he may exercise them in unsocial activities and become a delinquent or criminal.

Persons with a highly special talent are, of course, more frequently subject to anomalies of development than those who are superior in general intelligence.

Children of low I.Q.'s who associate with average children are much more liable to maladjustments than average children. They have not the intelligence to help them in making social adjustments and frequently develop inferiority complexes. In all intellectual and social competition they are at a serious disadvantage unless they are with those of their own grade of intelligence. This is one reason why such children are often so much happier and better adjusted in institutions, and in special classes where they are associating with others of their own kind.

Under suitable conditions the development of a well integrated personality is equally possible for persons of inferior, superior, or average intelligence. The most important conditions are that each shall associate with others of the same age and stage of development, and shall be expected to meet situations to which it is possible to adjust by reasonable effort. These essential conditions are usual for persons of average intelligence, but often must be supplied for those of inferior or superior mentality.

The more competition is emphasized in a group, the more important it is that an individual shall be with those who are nearly equal to himself in the abilities involved; though in other relationships of life, common interests are much more important. Hence it is often advantageous to an over- or under-sized individual or to one of inferior or superior intelligence to be part of the time with those of nearly his own age and part of the time with companions who are older or younger than himself.

Mere variation from the usual, such as a birth-mark, makes

the social environment and the reactions of the individual different from those of the average person. The more this peculiarity is emphasized by the notice of companions or the more the individual thinks about it and of the special attitudes of others, the more likely is he to fail to react in the usual way. The less other people notice it, or notice it and show that they regard this peculiarity as of little or no significance, and the less the individual thinks about it, the more usual or normal will his actions be. Strangers are likely to notice peculiar traits, and the possessor therefore is likely to be more conscious of them in the presence of strangers. Sometimes this leads to the unhealthy practice of avoiding new social contacts.

Not infrequently companions tease an individual about his peculiarity, which may cause him to avoid associates or to fight them; or he may learn to endure, or to acquire skill in repartee, or be stimulated to attainments that will command respect. The last is, of course, the most healthful of these adjustments, while the avoidance of others is most damaging to the personality, especially if practised toward every one.

Every person must bear the burden of his individual endowment and adjust as best he can; but other people may make the burden of a peculiarity either lighter or heavier. It is weakening for the individual to withdraw from responsibilities or social contacts to obtain relief, or for oversympathetic companions to try to relieve him from *all* burdens. The more nearly parents and companions treat him as they treat others, the better.

Of all physical endowments determining one's general attitude toward life and favoring or hindering normal functioning and successful adjustments, none is now believed to be of more importance than the endocrine glands. Many variations from normal behavior are traced to excesses or deficiencies of thyroid or other secretions, and what is known as temperament is be-

lieved to be largely the result of the relative activity of the various ductless glands. It has even been suggested that one's general disposition might be altered at will by the use of the appropriate glandular extracts. But it is not likely that however much knowledge may increase, we shall ever be able successfully to readjust glandular endowment. Something can be done to decrease variations from the normal by glandular treatment, but in the main each individual probably must continue to adjust to life situations as best he can with the special glandular combination he has, without resorting to a doctor to make him over in this respect.

2. Usual environment. This is an important factor in the development of people of the usual endowment. On the physical side it is of advantage to them to live where some effort and endurance is necessary in adjusting to the environment. All great civilizations have developed in regions of moderate temperature rather than in those of extreme heat or cold. An environment of too great hardship, where the chief purpose is to survive and where there is no opportunity to obtain cultural satisfactions, lowers the plane of living. Too much comfort and pleasure provided with little effort of self tends to keep one in the childish stage of irresponsibility and dependence upon others.

A study of troublesome children of contrasting social levels made by Dr. John Levy showed that the signs of poor adjustment manifested by children from the higher social levels were quite different from those coming from a lower social level. Over-privileged children showed temper tantrums, negativism, shyness, introversion, etc., whereas the under-privileged were more frequently noted as being thieves, liars, and incorrigibles.

The usual social and cultural environment is much better suited to average people than the less usual of either extreme, for example, great wealth and extreme poverty, or the highest or lowest social status or responsibility. The usual environment

presents nearly the right difficulties and opportunities for the development of personalities, especially for those of ordinary endowment.

The usual social environment of most persons gradually changes from that in which parents, and later teachers, protect and direct, are imitated, obeyed, deceived, coaxed, or defied, into more association with companions similar and equal to self, to whom one reacts in competitive or mutually coöperative ways.

The majority of persons have first a father and a mother and other relatives to whom they must adjust in childhood, then equals, then a special individual mate, and later their own children. Those who during the course of their lives have such normal experiences, whatever their special endowments, are more likely to develop healthy personalities than those who are deprived of them wholly or in part, or those whose family relationships are disturbed by deaths, divorces, and remarriages. As long as most persons comprising our population are members of families, we may expect statistics to show that more of those who are long-continued members of complete families will present fewer problems of maladjustment than members of broken families. The individual who has had the usual experience of adjusting to persons of the same and of differing sexes, ages, and abilities, and to the usual societies and institutions, is more likely to be normal than one who has never made such adjustments. A typical citizen having some property, a wife, children, a vocation, friends, a membership in one or more organizations, is more likely to be harmoniously normalized and better developed than one who has never adjusted to such social situations. Under present social conditions such an environment is better for every one than one that deprives individuals of some or all of these opportunities and necessities for adjustment.

The family in which one is reared and its station of life in the community naturally prepares one for similar living in a

similar community. A sudden change from home to school, from country to city, from one occupation to another, from one economic condition to another, though it may prove stimulating, often presents difficulties that interfere with integrative adjustments.

Under modern conditions some changes of environment are much less of a shock than they formerly would have been. With such ready means of transportation and communication, use of papers, books, telephone, and radio, the person has increasing opportunities, some actual, and many mental contacts with all sorts of environments and life situations. While adjusting to his immediate physical and social environment, he is also learning of and adjusting to varied environments, and integrating imaged experiences with those of his own everyday life. A complete change in his environment, therefore, does not necessarily produce a very great change in his personality development.

3. The matching of endowment and environment. This is usually favorable to personality development when the individual is much of the time associated with those who are competitively nearly equal to himself, and when he is in the environment usual to such persons. Human beings tend to form into groups of similars ("birds of a feather flock together") and to choose and make an environment to which they can adjust satisfactorily.

Parents and children who develop relationships of dominance and dependence do not follow this general tendency. Outside of the family, also, some individuals and some groups try to dominate, while others seek the protection, help, and direction of superiors. A broad historical and psychological view of man's behavior supports the belief that extremes are avoided and healthy functioning promoted by much association with those who are nearly equal, rather than by a situation whereby people live most of the time in a relation of dominance or subordination. If this is correct, democratic ideals are justified, and mental

hygienists should support any plan that will permit individuals to spend much of the time with persons who are their equals in competitive and coöperative situations.

Such a statement does not necessarily mean that all shall have an equal amount of wealth, strength, or intelligence; but that companions and neighbors shall be on an equal plane, and that no group shall be overwhelmingly powerful as compared with others; for example, neither employers nor employed, as individuals or as organized groups, shall be able to dominate completely regardless of the purposes and efforts of the other. Each must at least be restrained from going to extremes because of the power that the other possesses.

The balance is still more harmoniously maintained when, by the interaction of nearly equal groups, modified by the attitude of society as a whole, the adjustments are made in a way that harmonizes and mutualizes the purposes and efforts of the differing individuals and groups. In such an environment an individual finds his own purposes and efforts in harmony with those of others, and is therefore more harmoniously adjusted within himself.

If an individual is compelled to associate most of the time with persons unlike himself, he cannot do as he wishes without inconveniencing or antagonizing others. Temporarily, it may be of advantage for rich and poor, ignorant and learned, vigorous and weak persons to associate and coöperate with each other, but permanent associations of this kind in all the relations of life usually prove unsatisfactory. In a learned society, wealth and physical vigor may be ignored when intellectually the members are nearly enough alike in interests, knowledge, and ability to compete and coöperate on an equal basis. Rarely may wealthy and poor people associate freely and continuously with each other because they are so unequal in their vocational necessities and in their command of the material means of existence and enjoyment. Neither can persons of little and of great physical

vigor compete in vocations or in some amusements on an equal basis, even though they are equal in intelligence and wealth. It is natural and advantageous for various groups to be formed on the basis of interests for part-time association.

When children in the same family differ greatly in health, intelligence, and special interests, each younger child competes with the parents' and teachers' memories of what the older children were at the corresponding age; and a child of average ability in a family in which the older brothers and sisters were very forward in their development is at a considerable disadvantage as compared with a child who has about the same abilities as his older brothers and sisters. It is fortunate that children of the same family are usually enough alike in endowment to be fairly equal in achievements. Statistical studies show that most children of the same family succeed about equally well in high school and college, and that lists of persons of notable achievements or failures are likely to contain the names of many more siblings in proportion to numbers, than of unrelated persons. Case studies also reveal the fact that the exceptionally endowed child in a family is more frequently a problem child than the one who is like his brothers and sisters. Studies of identical twins who are alike in both germ heredity and environment show that they are permanently more nearly alike than non-identical twins, and the latter are more alike than ordinary siblings; hence their association with each other is probably advantageous. Another research, however, reveals the fact that if an identical twin is a criminal, the other is likely to be a criminal also.

School children usually select for more intimate companionship on the playground and elsewhere those like themselves in stage of development. A large proportion of children placed in accordance with their achievements in school subjects in a grade from whose average they differ by three years in age, develop personality maladjustments. The modern tendency to group children, not merely on the basis of educational achievement but

with consideration for other similarities, is justified. Those who are near each other in age and stage of development are placed together in school or in a home room, whereas for special purposes those of the same educational achievements, same mental ability, or special interest are grouped in classes where they may compete on a fairly even basis, or where they may have the usual education in amount and rate suited to individual needs, with some variations for special interests.

When children are grouped wholly on the basis of age, and when competition in achievements in any field is emphasized, the unfortunate results of not being associated with those of their own endowment are greatly increased. The poorly endowed children are deeply and unfavorably impressed with their failures, while the highly endowed are either uninterested or gain successes so easily that they do not get the satisfaction and the development that is gained by vigorous effort. Either type of child may become a problem child.

Such children are often greatly improved by shifting them into an environment presenting situations better suited to their endowments. Most children, if given opportunities for legitimate successes in ways approved by companions and society, give little trouble, while those whose opportunities of this kind are limited, either avoid as much as possible doing things that will show their inferiority, and seek other satisfactions such as sense pleasures or dominance over weaker persons or things; or they seek notoriety by defying authority and getting approval from their less able or less bold companions.

It is usual for the mental hygienist to be asked to advise the type of environment best suited to a group or an individual. He is guided in part by researches made in institutions concerning what types of individuals have benefited by certain changes, but his judgment must be based in part upon special study of the particular individuals being dealt with, and by observations of the reactions made when the environment is changed.

When the most important portion of the environment is some other individual, it is almost impossible to predict in advance what the effect of this companionship will be. Each individual calls forth a special type of reaction according to first impressions, and each changes somewhat in response to the behavior of the other. By this interaction special attitudes toward each other develop in one direction or another. The two may become more antagonistic or alternate between the two attitudes, or one may become more domineering and the other more submissive. In the home companionships that are unhealthful cannot easily be changed. In school and in general social life something may be done.

A great deal depends upon the individual, who to a considerable extent determines his own companionships by what he is, or by what he does. The normal individual is likely to associate with normal people, and to remain normal; the unusual individual may improve or grow worse in association with the companions he secures, while the attempts of the hygienist to change companions may or may not have the expected results, depending upon the wisdom of the choices made, and the tact used in bringing them together in mutually congenial activities.

CASE I.—I am acquainted with the intimate details of the case and can state that far from warping this woman's personality, an ugly birth-mark covering the whole of one cheek has indirectly contributed to a very self-confident, healthy mental attitude. I attribute this partly to the person herself but largely to her mother's upbringing. Early in life, finding that science could do nothing for her daughter, the mother determined that the mark should not handicap her child and endeavored always to strengthen her confidence in herself. In family matters, she was the one who was always right; hers the superior appearance (of the family group of sisters); hers the superior mental equipment. She was encouraged to appear in public and grew to maturity equipped with good looks, a charming personality, and a strong belief in her own abilities, with a mind quite free of complexes and inhibitions.

Upon graduation from high school Miss H—— decided to become a nurse but was advised by her physician to change her plans. He told her that sick people are often very sensitive to any deviation from the normal in personal appearance, and he thought she would be happier and more successful doing something else. She then decided to become a teacher and entered a state normal school.

At the beginning of her course the principal of the school had a conference with her because he feared that after giving her time to preparing for teaching, she might be unable to secure a position. She decided to continue, however, and her first position was in a school with a difficult group of children whose parents were largely foreign-born mill operators. She was successful, and the children liked and respected her. At the end of a year she was placed in a school where a large majority of the children came from the families of the society group. Here the parents complained because their children were taught by a teacher who had such a conspicuous physical defect. After some further difficulties in other schools, she decided to develop her artistic ability and enrolled in an art school in New York City.

Before long she was making a good living at interior decorating and art work. One day while tinting a greeting card she colored a flower crimson and then saw that her colors did not blend well. She allowed the paint to dry, then mixed up a very pale shade and covered it. This set her thinking. Would it be possible to discover a liquid that would as completely conceal the mark on her face? She set about earnestly to achieve it. She worked for weeks mixing various ingredients and trying out the products. At length she succeeded in making one that produced a natural appearance and was entirely satisfactory. She sent a sample to a chemist and had it analyzed. He assured her that there was nothing injurious in the ingredients. She was urged by skin specialists and beauty parlor proprietors to put it on the market. This she did, as much out of a desire to help other people, as to add to her own income. The product is advertised in a reliable and popular fashion magazine and she travels about giving demonstrations. A prosperous business has thus been built up on a foundation which for many would have been an obstacle only.

CASE 2.—Elizabeth came from a colony of disreputable families and was twitted about her people by the other children. She accepted the idea of herself as inferior and as a thief and continued to steal, often being detected and punished.

However, she was placed in a good home, well fed, neatly dressed, and given a small weekly wage for after-school employment; this with a change of home and in the attitude of teachers worked wonders. The last I heard of Elizabeth she was in high school and doing well in all of her studies. Further, she was very much liked by all her fellow students.

CASE 3.—*Mother*: right-handed; it is almost impossible for her to use her left hand.

Father: uses either the right or the left hand. He is a contractor so does a great deal of handwork. He uses his right hand for writing.

Brothers and sisters: right-handed.

Yvonne: from infancy showed a desire to use her left hand. Mother did not bother about it a great deal, and when Yvonne entered the first grade she was a full-fledged left-hander. At once it seemed to the teacher that she must change Yvonne into a right-handed person. For four years this struggle went on, and Yvonne was always forced to use her right hand. She did succeed in doing this (at least when the teachers were around). During these four years there seemed to be another change taking place. Yvonne changed from a normal healthy child to a very nervous one, and the climax seemed to arrive when Yvonne had St. Vitus dance at nine years of age. Her mother claimed that this nervous illness was the result of the continued strain on the child, mental as well as physical, during the time she was changing from a left-handed person to a right-handed one.

Yvonne is at present fourteen years of age, underweight, undersized, frail, and nervous. She has left the regular school because she hates it.

CASE 4.—Virginia was the third daughter of highly educated and prosperous people. Her sisters were sent to college and achieved high scholastic honors. One became a noted reader and the other followed the teaching profession. Both were very attractive and had charming personalities.

Virginia was the exception. She was tall, awkward, and very dark. Her hair was straight and black. She lacked the charm of her older sisters.

Her school work through the grades was poor. There was no opportunity to form classes to allow for individual differences. All through those years she was miserable. She was constantly reminded that her work was not of the quality of her sisters. She still retained

a sweet disposition but was rapidly developing an inferiority complex. She was being pushed down at school and at home.

When she entered the junior high school, she was given an intelligence test and found of normal intelligence. She was placed in the arts group. Here her regular work was not of failing grade, but she excelled in home economics. She appeared happy, I think, with the realization that her work compared favorably with that of the other members of the group and that she was not so distressingly different from other girls.

At the end of the third year of high school she married a young man of her own age. They rented an apartment from a friend of mine, who considered her an excellent housekeeper. Her apartment was attractive, and she had carefully prepared meals. After her baby was born, she showed excellent judgment in her treatment of him.

For her it was fortunate that she married young, as she was given an opportunity to live her own life instead of being continually in the background as she had been in her parents' home.

CASE 5.—Two sisters who are twins, twenty-one years of age. There were three sets of twins in this family; these twins are the last pair. The "brighter" twin has red hair and blue eyes. The "slower" twin has dark brown hair and blue eyes.

Their father is a farmer. He is quiet, and does not have much to say. Their mother is intelligent, dominant, friendly, and a leader.

The brighter of the pair graduated from high school, college, and received her master's degree in seven years.

Her sister is awkward and has less ability. She is still struggling in the second year of high school. She has developed a serious inferiority complex which is partly physical, due to some gland and adenoid troubles which, although having been corrected, have caused retardation. She knows that her sister is more intelligent than she, but is not jealous of her. She associates with much younger children.

Her first years in school were hard for her, as she had difficulty in learning to talk, and was very slow, her sister having been promoted to the fifth grade while she was still in the first, in spite of the fact that they had started to school at the same time. When asked by her parents, sisters, and brothers why she couldn't be promoted, she replied, "Me can no talk."

She was ten pounds under-weight. Her parents had difficulty in finding food that would agree with her. Her mother would give

her very little responsibility. She would not allow her to ride on a street car alone, or to visit a friend alone for fear she would "make a break." Her looks are of the normal type. Only by holding a *long* conversation with her one would know that she wasn't normal.

She often had the "blues" and crying spells, would become discouraged, leave school, but would go back again. Her marks in sewing, cooking, and domestic work were very good, but were very poor in such subjects as algebra and Latin.

She had a habit of "picking up conversations" with strangers when away from home. She would leave her group to find a stranger to talk to.

While in college her sister took up sociology and had taken her sister as a "study case." The sociologists became interested and gave Grace many tests. Through these tests they found she had an I.Q. of 85. They said she was looking for comradeship and friendship when she talked to strangers. They also said that if they had taken her in time, they could have helped her by giving her some responsibility, and by not expecting too much from her.

She likes children and they like her. Sociologists suggested that she would make a good helper in a children's home, and are trying to find an opening for her. They also stated that she could not succeed in a regular high-school course.

The brighter sister has an I.Q. of 120 or above. She is larger and healthier than her twin sister and an athlete. She taught gym work in school and is always a leader, while her sister is just the opposite, as she isn't capable of doing much without supervision. This may be partly due to her mother.

CASE 6.—Kate, as a child, was morbid and given to introspection. Never being popular with her playmates, she sought solitude, and for her own consolation lived in a world of her own creation. Often she visualized herself in some future reincarnation. Here she was beautiful, wealthy, and sought after. Her companions she condemned to a life of poverty, and of mental distress such as she herself suffered.

She loved children passionately but could never understand why they would cling to her sister and resist her advances. She could not forget herself and enter whole-heartedly into the games played upon the school grounds. She had always an idea that she was being watched.

About this time she awoke to the fact that she was unlike the other children in another respect. She could not read from the board! It was necessary that she make her way to the very board itself in order to read the work written upon it, or else annoy the teacher by asking her to read aloud to her all matter she could not see. It never dawned upon her that this was a matter that could be rectified by the use of glasses. To be sure she had made it the subject of many fervent prayers, and these prayers were answered but in a wholly unexpected manner. One day—Kate was then in first year high—in a spirit of fun she seized her seatmate's glasses and placed them to her eyes. A new world opened before her! It was a case of the blind being made to see! In less than a week she was wearing her own glasses and walking on the top of the world.

She had, however, suffered irreparable damage in other ways. She had developed a serious inferiority complex. This she had extended to include all the members of her immediate family. Despite her half-blind condition, she lead her classes, completed four years' work in two, and was graduated valedictorian of her class. Also she took up the study of music, and became so proficient that by means of it she has been able to augment her salary received as teacher in a public school.

None but those who have daily contact with her can realize the conflicts with which she daily battles, the compulsions and obsessions to which she is a victim, the thousand and one fears and false ideas that every moment force themselves to the surface of her conscious mind, and the noble efforts she makes to become more like her sister whom she considers a perfect example of perfect adjustment.

Jane, her sister, is twenty-two months younger than Kate, and the youngest of a large family of boys and girls. From infancy she radiated happiness. She was made much of by her family and was loved by her comrades. She seemed capable of adapting herself to any environment.

Though intelligent, she had not the indomitable will of her sister Kate. Given an opportunity of studying the violin, she easily became discouraged and finally gave up. Kate, though handicapped by poor eyesight, persevered in her piano music and even taught herself the violin.

About the time Jane entered high school, her nature underwent a great change. She suddenly manifested great executive ability, and

became somewhat assertive. She never hesitated to express her opinions emphatically, and, as she was generally correct, her counsel was sought on matters both trivial and great.

No party was complete without Jane. Activities were usually suspended until her arrival, and any clouds that might have gathered in the interim were dispelled at her entrance. Every one looked to her to settle difficulties, and no one seemed to question her decisions.

This ability to make friends and retain them has followed her through life. When she is ill, she is showered with fruits and flowers, attention and sympathy. The fruits and flowers she accepts; the attention and sympathy she spurns, denying that she is suffering unduly, etc. Yet she is the first to fly to the relief of others at the least indication of pain.

After finishing school, she considered seriously the teaching profession, but she adopted a business career. In it she has been eminently successful. She is the friend of all those with whom she comes in contact. School children come to her with their childish troubles; mothers lay their burdens upon her shoulders and go away happier for the few minutes she has given them. Yet all of this does not interfere with the perfect discharge of her duties. Her employer has been known to remark that no money could take her from him. He recognizes the fact that he has found a well adjusted personality for his business.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. Give instances of persons who are not adjusting well because they are not with their own kind.
2. Of two individuals, one shy and the other aggressive, which will adjust most healthily to superior companions, and which to inferior ones? Why?
3. Give descriptions of instances of personality traits, physical, mental, or social, that were not in themselves handicaps, but that have had great influence on the kind of environment sought and attracted and the kind of adjustments made.
4. How does it happen that you associate with certain groups in your school rather than with others? Is the chief reason similarity of interests or chance contacts often occurring?
5. Which is worse for a child, to be with those who are ready to pity him in all his misfortunes, or who are ready to blame him for his mistakes?

6. Which do you think the more advantageous environment in early life, one of poverty requiring a good deal of self-denial, or of wealth, involving many luxuries? Explain fully.

7. If the home and school environment are of the best, will youths, after leaving them and engaging in outside activities (*a*) adjust better if they have been kept in ignorance of evils to be met, or (*b*) if they have been allowed to learn of them through observation, reading, the theater, etc?

8. Admitted that in a general way like-mindedness with companions favors healthy-mindedness, describe some of the effects of being associated a large part of the time with individuals quite different from oneself.

9. Describe instances of the association of persons one of whom is dominant and the other submissive, and the effects on each.

10. Why have men of many nationalities and vocations been able to coöperate in labor organizations?

11. What would you say to this statement: The third and fourth children of a family of six, all of whom differ in age about two years, have a better social environment than that of the older and the younger ones?

12. Describe an individual who you think needs the association of (*a*) older or more gifted companions than he now has, and (*b*) one who should be associated with younger or less gifted ones, and (*c*) one who should associate with the same grade of ability as present companions, but having different interests?

13. In Case 1, do you believe that the mother was wise in her dealing with her handicapped daughter? Did the girl's lack of self-consciousness influence the behavior of others toward the girl?

14. What means may be used to induce an individual to succeed in spite of some peculiarity after self-consciousness has developed?

15. In Case 2 a complete change in conduct was produced by a half dozen changes in environment and situations. If all these changes could not have been made, which ones could most safely have been omitted?

16. Have you any remarks to make on Case 3?

17. Is there anything that either the mother or the teacher might have done earlier for Virginia in Case 4?

18. How should the inferior twin in Case 5 have been dealt with by mother and teachers?

19. Was Kate's poor eyesight, Case 6, the chief cause of her diffi-

culties of adjustment, or were they due to her sister's unusual successes?

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CHAPTER IV

CONDITIONING EXPERIENCES AND MENTAL HEALTH

Significance of early and incidental experiences. Formerly it was regarded as sufficient to say that individuality and mental health depended upon heredity and environment. We have shown in the previous chapter that the particular combination of endowment and environment is of still greater significance. A slight difference of the matching of the two during a considerable period of development may emphasize the worst traits of one person and the best traits of a companion by producing disintegrating conflicts in the one and harmonious personality development in the other.

We are now to note that the usual results of a certain combination of constant endowment and environment may be wholly changed by single incidents. A child's attitude toward school may be permanently affected by his experiences on the first day. The history of the individual must always be studied when searching for such causes of differences.

This truth has long been recognized in a general way and much of its significance appreciated, but until recently only consciously remembered experiences were considered. The study of conditioned reflexes, however, has demonstrated that experiences unremembered and never consciously noted may have a profound influence upon behavior and mental attitudes.

The conditioned reflex. The phenomenon associated with this type of action was accidentally discovered by Prof. Edwin B. Twitmyer in connection with experiments he was making upon the knee-jerk. It is a familiar fact that when one knee is

crossed over the other and is struck just below the knee-cap, the foot flies up. This reaction is known as the knee-jerk.

There was some dispute as to whether the movement was caused directly by the blow on the tendon, or by a neuromuscular reaction to the stimulus. An apparatus was devised to give a blow of known force, and to measure the height of the kick and the time relations of stimulus and response. The movement, it was discovered, was not entirely regulated by the local stimulation, but varied with activity excited by various sight, sound, and other stimuli, and by muscular contraction of the hand or other parts of the body. The kick was increased or decreased according to the timing of such stimuli by fractions of a second before the tendon was struck. This made it certain that what goes on in any part of the neuromuscular system is modified by what is taking place in other parts.

In the course of one of these experiments by Professor Twitmyer, the apparatus that released the hammer that struck the knee failed to operate. It made the usual sound, but the hammer did not fall. The professor was surprised to see that the foot went up very much as it had been doing when the tendon was struck. The sound, by being consistently associated with the blow, which at the beginning of the experiments would not produce the knee-jerk, had become a substitute or conditioned stimulus nearly as effective as the original primary or adequate stimulus. Since this occurred in the case of a non-voluntary act, it gave evidence that the nervous system could be changed, or, in other words, could learn to respond to a new stimulus independent of consciousness and will.

Previous to this time, Pavlov, the Russian physiologist, had made exact experiments upon the activity of the salivary glands of dogs. Meat was the natural and adequate stimulus that would cause the flow of the saliva. A particular sound made every time just before presenting the meat became the conditioned stimulus that would excite the glands and cause saliva to flow. If varia-

tions in the pitch of the sound were made, but meat was presented only when a sound of a particular vibration rate was given, the sound of that particular pitch became effective, and similar sounds ceased to excite the gland even when they so closely approached the same number of vibrations that the human ear could scarcely perceive the difference. This showed that glandular as well as muscular activity could be produced by a conditioned stimulus of a very definite sort.

Further experiments have confirmed the truth that when there are a number of accompanying stimuli, all of them together may be a complex conditioned stimulus; but if only one stimulus invariably precedes the adequate stimulus, that will become the conditioned one. If this one is omitted for awhile and one of the others is invariably present, there will be a reconditioning, the former stimulus losing its effectiveness and the new becoming potent.

If there are several stimuli used at once, the more intense one is likely to become a conditioned stimulus. Again, if one is used until it becomes effective, then for a time others are given along with it, the effectiveness of this one will not necessarily be destroyed by the presence or omission of the others.

Not only are single reflex movements subject to conditioning, but also complex movements involving the whole body. A child who has been bitten by a dog and almost thrown into convulsions by fright may afterward be equally frightened by the sight or sound of a dog, and may shriek whenever a dog approaches him, even if he has no memory of the original fright.

Usually it is not possible to tell in advance which of several stimuli will become the conditioned one and thereafter produce the reaction. It might be the sound of the dog's bark, its color, size, or motions. The fright reaction might vary greatly with other phases of the whole situation, such as nearness of the dog and the presence with the child of older people, and their reactions of either fear or pleasure.

Following, as well as preceding stimuli have their influence. A person who has become ill after eating a certain kind of food may subsequently become sick by entering the room in which the food was eaten, or by smelling the same odor, perhaps without recollecting the original experience.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall told the author the secret of the famous chloride-of-gold treatment for alcoholism which was much exploited a half century ago. Institutions were erected where dipsomaniacs were treated to cure them of their desire for drink. Patients entering these institutions were shown a bar and told that they could get a drink whenever they wanted it on one condition—that they would report the fact within a half hour and receive the treatment of chloride of gold. This was a yellowish liquid supposed to be very expensive. Apparently this liquid and whisky did not agree, and the patient became sick soon after the treatment. Probably a few days later he would take another drink, would report, receive treatment, and become sick. After a few experiences of this kind the sight or smell of whisky, or perhaps even the thought of it, would make him ill. He was then declared cured. In many instances the cure was permanent. However, those who began drinking again ceased to be made sick after awhile, but could be cured again by the same treatment.

This cure was chiefly physiological but partly psychological. The supposed chloride was a harmless yellow liquid (not at all costly) containing enough ipecac to serve as an adequate stimulus to sickness.

The whole nervous system is subject to conditioned excitations and inhibitions of activity. A patient who was relieved from pain and put to sleep by the injection of an opiate was conditioned to the application of the needle to such an extent that, after a time, relief from pain was obtained and sleep produced by the application of the needle without any opium.

There is reason to believe that not only the neuromuscular

and glandular systems are subject to conditioning, but all cellular activities as well. Experiments indicate that the process of immunization started by adequate stimuli may be continued by means of an associated stimulus that has become the conditioned one. If these experiments are confirmed, it will be impossible to draw a line between an original cause of change in an organism, and the effects of some stimulus associated with it. This really means that change of functioning or learning is not merely a conscious or even a nervous change, but one that may take place in cells of any part of the body and affect the subsequent behavior of part or the whole of the organism.

Conditioning may be produced by many repetitions of associated stimuli or by a single intense experience; and although it is usually weakened by a period of non-use, sometimes its potency continues for years. Frequently it is increased because of further experiences of similar situations reacted to in similar ways. With variations in these experiences, still other stimuli may be substituted, or the reactions modified; for example, words often take the place of sounds or gestures as conditioned stimuli in directing a child's behavior, and perhaps in his responses.

Native or unconditioned reactions. There must be an original movement or combination of movements constituting a response to some stimulating situation, otherwise there could be no conditioning of a stimulus to produce a reaction. The eyes of an infant close when the eye or the skin near it is touched. After approaching objects have been seen several times before the touching occurs, the sight of a swiftly approaching object takes the place of touch as a stimulus to the closing of the eye.

There is some native tendency to turn toward the side in which a sound is loudest, and this serves as a basis for conditioning one to look in the direction from which a sound comes. The beginnings of feeding movements, which are at first called

forth by hunger and by touch sensations, may be produced within five days after birth by the sound of a buzzer that has been made to sound just before each feeding. Convulsive fear movements may be produced in very young infants by a loud sound. Later, any stimulus, such as seeing or touching a rabbit just before or after hearing a loud sound, may become a conditioned stimulus to fear reactions.

Experiments and embryological studies indicate that the nerves and muscles grow and come into action in groups rather than in separate units. Complex, coördinated movements are therefore often successfully made on the reception of an original or a conditioned stimulus without previous practice in combining the parts. These movements expressive of fear, anger, etc., are early performed in response to the several stimuli that set them off. It is not easy to tell which of these stimuli are adequate previous to experience and which are conditioned by association with the originally adequate one.

The characteristic modes of behavior of each species of animal in taking food and water, avoiding danger, fighting, mating and caring for their young, are undoubtedly the result of their structure and the connection of parts with each other which exists previous to their first reactions to such situations. The horse and the cow, when rising from the ground, do so in opposite ways—the one forepart first and the other hindpart first. The dog, the hen, the duck all drink in a different manner. From an examination of the teeth and other structures it is possible to know much regarding the food, modes of locomotion, and means of defense that characterize a species.

Although much of his behavior is acquired, man is predisposed to species types of behavior, and his individual endowments, physical and mental, cause him to be more or less active and vigorous, to be more interested in some phases of his environment than in others, and prepare him to make better adjustments to some situations than to others. Some people are much

more likely to react to sounds than to sights; one is interested in music while another concerns himself with forms or colors; one uses his left hand most, the other his right hand, etc.

Slight differences of inheritance or special conditionings are usually predisposing causes which are increased by subsequent experiences. Special endowments may be greatly modified by a constant environment of one special kind or another; but while the same environment cannot make all persons alike, neither does the same endowment insure the same development.

The known possibilities of modification of development have been greatly increased by researches on conditioning. First, rare, or single experiences may give rise to negative reactions, or may start development along positive lines that would otherwise never have been taken. Direction, vigor, and effectiveness of reaction are thus frequently determined by conditioned experiences rather than by the constant impact of environment upon original endowment.

In general, the broader meaning of conditioning implies that intense or repeated reactions to the environing stimuli, and relation of the parts of the organism to each other, result in the special sensations, situations, and activities which were originally of little or no significance, finally becoming dominant as conditioning stimuli in the adjustments of parts to each other and to environment. Efficiency of execution is involved as well as the general attitudes toward life; and what one attempts to do is largely the result of what one has previously done and of the stimuli associated with the doing.

Positive and negative conditioning. Positive conditioning, whether conscious or unconscious, determines what shall be worth while in life, or in other words what shall be attractively interesting. The kind of means used in attaining results one has come to desire are also in part positively conditioned; for example, whether one shall use his own efforts, or shall force or inveigle others to act for him.

Negative conditioning, on the other hand, determines what one shall avoid or ignore and what means of realization of positive interests are neglected on account of the effort required to gratify them. Negative conditionings prevent some injuries, but they also decrease the number of things from which enjoyment might be obtained. Learning to endure what cannot be helped is a very valuable form of negative conditioning; while continuous reaction by positive signs of irritation to phases of the environment that cannot be removed or evaded is injurious to mental health.

Voluntary effort modifies behavior chiefly through the intensification of one or another conditioning stimulus, hence attention plays a large part in conditioning and reconditioning.

Conditioning and consciousness. Most of the special conditioning already described is partly or wholly independent of consciousness, although subsequent mental states are greatly modified thereby. Some conditioning, however, is distinctly conscious, and may greatly influence the general attitude of the conscious personality toward life and its problems. Professor Alfred Adler always questions his patients to obtain their earliest memories because he finds evidence that such remembered mental experiences have colored the whole of the individual's mental life. For example, a man of about thirty, aggressive and objectively successful, was engaged to be married, but without apparent cause was jealous of his fiancée and doubtful whether he was suited to married life. His earliest memory was of being in a crowd when about four years of age with his mother and younger brother. After taking him in her arms by mistake, the mother put him down and took up the smaller boy, while he, perplexed and disturbed, shifted for himself in the crowd. This gave him the idea that another was preferred to himself and made him insecure in all his social relations during all of his life. According to Dr. Adler, this caused him to be jealous of his fiancée and doubtful if he should marry at all.

This interpretation seems reasonable, though it perhaps attaches too much importance to the *single* incident. It is probable that before, and certainly after, this occurrence there were many instances of slighter experiences of jealousy of his brother and of uncertainty as to how he was regarded by his mother and others. A single instance like this occurring in early life *may* of itself exercise a dominating influence on all subsequent conscious processes; there is danger, however, of overestimating the power of the *single* experience.

Every one has many experiences, some of which give him a slant in one direction and some in another. It is usually when one of them is favored by certain innate tendencies or by special features of the environment that it plays a dominant rôle in one's personality development. Not infrequently persons, remembering such instances, use them as excuses for traits that would probably have developed without them—"If this had not happened, I would . . ." There can be no doubt, however, that many of the early memories of incidents occurring in the first six years of life have been influential in all subsequent development. It is also true that first experiences of any type occurring at any age are very prominent in originating modes of objective behavior and of subjective attitudes.

The mere fact that a particular incident is followed by the development of a certain type of behavior in one child is not sufficient reason for concluding that it is the only or even the chief cause; there is still less reason to conclude that such an experience will have a similar effect upon another individual.

Manual habits are usually quite special, but emotional and intellectual attitudes once initiated often extend to similar situations and then become generalized. Some of the most serious personality disorders are marked by such transference and spread of an emotional attitude or an intellectual judgment to more and more objects, situations, and persons; and thus fear, suspicion, or resentment may grow and dominate one's thoughts.

On the other hand, increasing evidence of healthful adjustments is marked by a decrease of fear, an increase of certainty, and by better adjustments to objective situations, to all human beings and to social conventions. Single emotional experiences are often reproduced by some conditioning stimulus such as an odor. If the revived emotional experience is associated with some place, person, or type of activity, a favorable or an unfavorable attitude toward them may continue even after the incident is forgotten.

Children's attitudes of liking and disliking, and their successes or failures in various subjects of study, are often determined by their experiences upon beginning them. Their liking or distaste for school life as a whole may often be traced back to the type of school discipline first encountered and the personality of the first teacher. Fortunately, attitudes not too fully developed by succeeding experiences may be changed by experiences of an opposite type, and thus excessive prejudices and enthusiasms have a chance to be normalized before the personality is seriously warped in one direction or another.

It is impossible to say how large a part any particular conjunction of individual endowment and environing situation has had in modifying development trends and in producing permanent emotional and intellectual attitudes. There is good reason to believe that one's religion, politics, race prejudices, and moral sentiments are usually the result of a certain type of environment rather than of some one impressive conditioning experience; but special likings for persons, places, names, and special vocational, intellectual, and esthetic activities may more frequently be traced to a special experience that tended to exalt or minimize the importance of an object, person, word, or activity.

It is now evident that the phenomena of conditioning explains why slightly different intensity or timing of environing influences in relation to the stage of development and the physi-

cal and mental state of the individual at the moment may produce profound differences in his subsequent development.

Consciously remembered experiences do not account for all one's attitudes and reactive tendencies. A man who could not avoid shrinking whenever a horse approached him was unable to account for the reaction by any remembered unpleasant experience with horses. Relatives, however, recalled that when an infant he had been seriously bitten by a horse. The sight of a horse approaching him was a conditioned stimulus that always produced the fear reaction.

Conditioning of typical modes of adjusting. The general type of response to situations may be conditioned by one or several special experiences. (1) The avoidance type of reacting is not unusual. A girl who was laughed at when she mispronounced the name "Letitia" thereafter refrained from speaking any word of which she did not know the correct pronunciation. On occasion, she substituted a familiar word for the one she could not pronounce with assurance. This made for accuracy of pronunciation, but had a perceptible effect upon the size of her vocabulary. This is a very minor example of being conditioned to avoid what could not be successfully met. An individual who fails disgracefully in adjusting to a few situations, or one who makes many minor failures, may become conditioned to avoiding all such situations. The dominant types of reaction in these cases may then be to avoid all situations similar to those that have presented difficulties, and to keep away from all objects that have aroused fear.

(2) Other persons who have aggressively attacked a difficulty with success may become conditioned to this type of adjustment in certain fields or in general, and are stimulated by difficulties to more vigorous efforts. They may even go out of their way to deal with difficult problems—puzzles to be solved, dangers to be overcome, or responsibilities to be met.

(3) A person who has been angered by an interference that

he is helpless to resist may become conditioned to show irritation whenever anything unpleasant occurs without making any attempt either to avoid the irritations, or to find a way of making them unobjectionable.

(4) Another person who has passively endured suffering may become conditioned to accept whatever comes without trying to escape, overcome, or resent.

These are a few of the most typical adjustment attitudes which may be produced by a few or by many conditioning experiences. Most individuals have experiences that tend to condition them now in one way, and now in another; and thus they are enabled to adjust more or less successfully to most life situations.

Conditioning and learning. It is clear from the preceding discussion that much of what has been called *learning* could now be called *conditioning*. The simplest form of conditioning is the association of some cellular, glandular, muscular, or nervous activity or personality attitude, with something in the stimulating situation that will thereafter call forth the same activity of the same parts, or determine the behavior of the person. A simpler kind of conditioning is a process of selecting or being impressed by some part of the total situation which is then effective alone as a conditioned stimulus. This conditioning may be extended to similar stimuli or transferred by an associated stimulus in accordance with former known laws of similarity or contiguity associations; but such transference is not necessarily a process of conscious association of ideas.

New reactions are possible because of previous responses to similar situations, or, in other words, by previous conditioning whether conscious or unconscious.

The movements of the hand of an infant as he grasps an object upon which his eyes are focused are successful only after eye sensations, eye muscles, skin sensations, and the larger muscles of the arm, as well as the smaller ones of the fingers,

have been associated with each other by conditioning. The movements of the tennis player's feet, body, and arm as he keeps his eye on the ball he is to return are the result of many more or less chance directions of attention and of muscle contractions of various kinds and degrees. These form a conditioned sensory motor series and facilitate the making of all skilled movements. Chance plays a large part in conditioning when he is practising, though he is often unable to see how he gets the right motion one time and at other times fails. When skill has been acquired, the intention to do, or some special stimulus that has often served as an *initiator*, starts the automatic performance of the act, each part of which conditions the next part.

When one consciously selects the elements of an act of skill and combines them so as to get the desired result without trial errors, he shows "insight." Such learning cannot easily be identified with conditioning, although previous experiences have provided the "apperceptive mass" necessary to the learning. There can be no doubt that in the higher animals and in man insight and voluntary attention play a large part in the learning of things that are new and complex. When, as a horse's shin is struck by a stick, he raises his foot, he is responding to an adequate stimulus by a comparatively simple reflex. After considerable experience he will raise his foot and put it down again at a threatened blow, or at a word, gesture, or look from his master, and will continue to raise it and lower it until his master lifts his head and looks elsewhere. After such conditioning stimuli have become effective, the horse may *seem* to be able to count and to answer various questions, although no such mental operation occurs. However, when an ape puts two sticks together, or puts one box on another in order to reach a banana, he shows "insight" in connection with his learning to adjust to the situation of food out of his reach. Man makes many such adjustments to gain ends, especially those in the distant future. Intelligent adaptability and adjustment to past and future is a

marked characteristic of human beings, but successful execution, when there is insight, is largely the result of earlier unconscious conditioning.

Conditioning stimuli may not only call forth reactions not natively associated with them, but they may prevent reactions that would otherwise occur. In other words, such stimuli are negative and inhibitory, instead of being positive. The child who has been pricked when he grasped a rose may draw away from the next one he sees instead of moving toward it. A dog, conditioned to come at call, may also be conditioned to refuse to come by the sight of a whip in his master's hand. There are, of course, all sorts of complexities in the relations of positive and negative conditioning experiences that call forth one reaction and inhibit another.

Personal conditioning and interaction. Most important in the development of personality is the interaction between an individual and his companions. This is especially true when companions are of an opposite type: a shy, delicate child with a coarse, aggressive father; a beautiful, graceful child with a homely, awkward companion; an active, dominating individual with a timid, subservient one; an emotional person with a passive, phlegmatic one; an active teaser with one oversensitive to teasing; a very practical person with a very artistic or imaginative individual; a very serious one with a very humorous person. When companions are much alike, they make mutual adjustments that usually cause them to become more alike; when they are markedly different, it is rather common for the special reaction of each to become more and more extreme: a dominator becomes more dominating, while his subservient companion becomes more submissive; a selfish person becomes more selfish, and his generous companion more yielding to him.

Sometimes there is a reaction against the companion of the opposing type, either at once or after a period of yielding, and the weaker or submissive individual changes so as to become

more like his opposite. This is almost surely the result of long continued tyranny; after the situation is reversed, the tyrant becomes slavish in the presence of a superior, and the slave a tyrant in dealing with inferiors. When one alternates between associations varying in opposite directions from the average, and also has some association with medium individuals, there is a tendency to normalize one's adjustments; on the other hand, long continued association chiefly of one type, tends to fix a particular type of adjustment. This is sometimes evident in teachers who become incapable of learning, and of pupils who become chronic acquirers of useless information.

Each profession and vocation tends to develop a special type of reaction, and some of them to produce unsymmetrical bodies. Personality development is narrowed and dwarfed if there are few outside interests and little association with other than vocational companions, and no physical exercise outside of one's vocation. In a mixed company those of the same vocation drift into groups and "talk shop" unless, for the time being, there is some other common, dominant interest—artistic, athletic, political.

Sometimes after one type of reaction has been practised in the same place and in the presence of the same kind of companions, there is a contrasting impulse to wander and to seek different companions and to behave in diverse ways. The stronger and the more prolonged the suppression involved, the stronger the reaction is likely to be, when and if it occurs. The workman carouses when freed from long hours at wearisome tasks; the doctor becomes a drug addict; and sometimes the minister, the teacher, the deacon, the banker, take a moral holiday when on their vacations or out of their usual surroundings. Less restricted living, with frequent changes in activities and environment is broadening and healthful.

CASE 1.—I have a great dislike for the smell of palm-olive soap. Once, when I was younger, I cultivated a friendship that caused me

some unpleasant experiences and that ended rather unfortunately. The individual connected with this trouble used palm-olive soap. Since then the smell of it is very disagreeable to me and produces the same feelings in me that I felt toward that person at the time of the misunderstandings. This is especially annoying as I have considered myself recovered and under control. Since then I have also discovered that I must almost force myself to use any kind of scented or colored soaps. For a long time my favorite kind of soap has been ivory and until only recently have I been aware of the reason for my choice.

The smell of hot dogs makes me feel really ill. Once on a picnic I ate so many that I became sick. It was my job to carry back home the hot dogs that were not consumed. I did manage to do this in spite of the fact that I was actually suffering. Consequently, the odor of this meat is still very disagreeable to me.

CASE 2.—A little girl of five or six was being built up by taking cod-liver oil before each meal. One night the grandmother was taking care of the child and, after giving her the medicine, laid the spoon down on the table near the girl's plate. When the child came to her dessert, which was canned peaches, she unknowingly took the spoon with cod-liver oil on it. One mouthful was all she took. It was over two years before she would ever eat peaches again. Even then she would no doubt have persisted in refusing if she had not dined out and had them served to her in an entirely new way and in very different surroundings.

CASE 3.—A teacher of eight years' experience has a recurrent attack of nausea every day before the teachers' convention in the fall.

The first convention that she attended was three hours' ride from her home and before she got there she was car sick. Inside the hall the air was bad, which made her feel worse; the whispering of the teachers around annoyed her. Before an hour had passed she had to leave the hall quite ill and could not return. Not until she had been home two days, very sick, was she able to sit up.

Ever since that time the thought of conventions sickens her. She says she can smell the car grease and smoke; she can feel the oppression of bad air; and she can hear the continual buzzing of senseless chatter about her.

CASE 4.—A mother was sick and the oldest girl, about eleven years old, was helping. She was attempting to pour boiling water from a tea-kettle (an old-fashioned one, with a lid which was fastened on at the back) when the cover slipped to one side and the whole back of her right hand was badly burned with the steam. As she grew up she always had a fear that this might happen again, and this fear has followed her through life so that she still shrinks inwardly when pouring hot water from a kettle even when she is certain that the cover is secure.

CASE 5.—My brother and I have been swimming and diving since we were about seven years old. About five years ago, an accident happened to my brother. A storm the night before had blown the raft a few yards away. We were the first there the next morning. I dived first, but as I am a very shallow diver, my dive was good. My brother is a very deep diver. He stood on the eight-foot platform and dived off. Under water, he saw a rock, and partly saved himself by arching his back. The rock, however, scraped the skin off his forehead, nose, shin, and chest. When he came to the surface, his face was covered with blood. I dived to help him, but he needed no help. As I dived, he cried out, "That was a perfect dive."

The next day we again went swimming. My brother found that although he believed himself unafraid, he unconsciously held back before diving and this little movement caused him to make what we call "a flat dive." After doing this a few times, he became conscious of himself and his dives were worse. He persisted, but his diving all that summer and the following summer was not as good as it had been. The third summer after his accident his dives appeared to be as perfect as they had been, although he said that he had to think constantly of his form while diving, whereas before he had simply poised and dived without the conscious effort. This summer he has been able to dive without the forced consciousness of form.

He has conquered his weakness, but I seem never to have regained my form in diving. Divers usually go up on their toes before diving. At that moment I seem to pull my shoulders back a little, completely spoiling my dive. I know I do it but seem unable to correct it. Even when I run to the edge of the raft and dive in without poising I still shrink a little. Although I have never stopped diving, I have never been able to dive as unconsciously as formerly.

My brother says my last good dive was the one I made when I dived to help him.

CASE 6.—The man of whom I am writing I shall refer to as Doctor X——. Part of this account is based upon what I have been told and the rest of it upon my own observations.

I first met the doctor when I was about ten years old. The acquaintance continued for nearly ten years. The final part of this report is based upon what I was told occurred after I had left the town in which we both had resided.

A woman who lived in the town received a compound fracture of one wrist. None of the four doctors in the town would at first touch it. Finally Doctor X——, out of kindness, did as well as he could in the way of repairing the damage. Nothing was said by the woman until the injury was healed. Then she sued the doctor for malpractice on the grounds that her wrist had not had proper attention. She won the case. The doctor had the sympathy of practically the entire town. The woman soon moved away. Shortly afterwards, the doctor's wife died during childbirth. The doctor retired to the seclusion of his rather large house, retaining a very small practice. The infant was taken care of by a young couple who had recently lost their own child.

Now for a few facts which I have observed.

1. The doctor came to blows with the light-and-power company over some matter unknown to me, refused to pay the bill, and had the power shut off. He never used it again.

2. He paid his water tax but kept a faucet open in the kitchen day and night, week in and week out.

3. He pulled teeth, but charged little or nothing for it. Said he enjoyed it. (He was a D.D.S. as well as an M.D.)

4. He kept a horse and a cow and cut hay on whatever land he could obtain for the purpose. One day, when I was with him and his son who was about my age, I fell through the cut-away of the hay-rack, striking my side. My kidney was probably hurt. He felt me over as I lay on the ground, grunted, and walked away. I was in bed for several days at home as a result of the fall. He came every day to see me. He would take nothing for the attention.

5. He sent milk bills each month to the young couple who were caring for his daughter and using the milk for her. They paid.

6. He would allow no one to harm any of the many pigeons which nested in the cupola of his barn.

7. There was a supply of doughnuts in the pantry where one could always find a pail of milk. Many afternoons, when school was over, the son and I have had our fill of both. I, with my opinion of the doctor gained from what people had told me of his disposition, could not understand how the boy dared to do such a thing. Later, when I was older and knew him better, I learned that the food was left there intentionally by the doctor.

8. My grandmother fell one spring and broke her wrist. My mother went across the yard for Doctor X——. When he learned what had happened, he remarked incredulously, "You *know* and you want *me* to attend her?" After much persuasion he set the wrist. Everything mended normally. No bill was ever sent, and he would take nothing for his services.

9. The son obtained work in a distant town, married, and some time later returned for a visit. After spending a few weeks with his father and the housekeeper, he returned to his work. One afternoon, a little later, the doctor did not return to supper. The evening wore on and there were no signs of him. The next morning the very much worried housekeeper called in a neighbor. In the barn they found enough to tell this story. The doctor had climbed up on a beam, put the noose end of a rope around his neck, tied the other end to the beam, fastened a chloroform-saturated pad over his nose and mouth and——

Conditions in this world were just too much for the poor man.

CASE 7.—I have a feeling against feathers. As far back as I can remember I have had this shrinking from them, especially the little feathers that work out of pillows.

When I was a tiny girl, Mother could be sure I would remain in a room where she wished me to be if she put a "fezzy," as I called it, on the threshold. I have talked it over with her several times, but she has no knowledge of any fright from feathers. I love birds—to look at—and feathers on hats, but if I touch one unexpectedly, something seems to curl up in me and if I see one working out of a pillow, it startles me.

CASE 8.—For about twenty years I was in the habit of going for my summers to a little village that I loved dearly. I have enjoyed the

happiest times of my life there. The beauty of the surroundings and the friendliness of the people were very dear to me. When trouble and difficulties came, it was to this haven I turned for relief and comfort. Often in the busy days of winter when work pressed hard and burdens seemed heavy, by simply recalling the situations and delights of the summer I was able to find rest and refreshment.

One year near the close of a delightful summer, a small child who was greatly beloved fell ill. It seemed as if the doctor would never come, the child being on the verge of convulsions. For days we were in doubt as to his recovery. The place was in no way responsible for his illness, but no longer is it an abode of joy. I could not get away from it quickly enough, and I feel for it only feelings of hatred. The hills are just as beautiful, the people just as delightful, but I have the feeling one must have when the friend he loved has turned traitor and destroyed his dearest possession. I never care to go there again to stay in the company of any member of my family.

CASE 9.—I remember very vividly an incident that occurred when I was four years old. Upon returning from kindergarten one noon I was greeted at the door by a nurse who informed me that I had a new baby brother. I can remember bursting into tears and saying, "I don't want a brother." I even refused to look at him and went out on the porch to wait for my grandmother who was then on the way to my house. The nurse also told me that if I didn't want the new baby my grandmother could take him home with her. I was quite willing.

I remember waiting on the back porch in the warm sunshine for my grandmother. When she came, I told her I didn't want a brother anyway, because boys always swore. Probably I realized I would have to forfeit some of the attentions lavished upon me as an only child. Jealousy was probably the real reason for my dislike of the new baby.

It was not long, however, before I was reconciled. I was given certain duties to perform and led to believe I had some responsibility in caring for the baby. Evidently my family used the right kind of psychology in the affair or I might always have had a feeling of jealousy.

The affair left a deep impression on me, and every time I hear of a new baby in a family I wonder what will be the reaction of the older child or children. About eight years ago I had a niece born, and for awhile I worried over the effect it would have on her four-

year-old brother. He had been told he was going to have a new brother or sister, so was primed for the affair, and greatly elated over his new sister.

CASE 10.—I believe the following is a case of conditioned reflex, but I am not sure of the cause.

During summer session some one brought in a big worm in a glass jar which was passed around the class. I sat there in perfect dread expecting the thing to be handed to me, but somehow it skipped the two or three in the line in which I was sitting. I think if that bottle had been handed over my shoulder, I should have had to leave the class, though I am not afraid of worms in general.

About a year ago while walking along the street, I suddenly found myself about to step on an immense green worm. I raised that foot high, jerked back, and screamed at the top of my voice. I had no chance to prevent this exhibition as it was all done before I realized what was happening.

Several years ago while sitting at dinner in the boarding house a girl who was passing behind me reached to pull a lock of hair in the back of my neck. I immediately raised the table on my knees threw both hands into the air, brought them down violently upon the table, and screamed. I did not know just what had happened, did not know that I had screamed and was later convinced with difficulty that I had done so.

I do not know whether there is any connection between these two things or not, but the sensation that the girl's finger gave me seems to have been about the same that I get from the sight of these worms or the thought of one of them touching me.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. Give several examples of your own reactions that you believe are conditioned rather than native.
2. Recall several of your earliest memories, and see if you can trace any of your present mental attitudes to those incidents.
3. Can you account for any of your prejudices in favor of or against certain races, countries, states, cities, names of persons, or certain types of voice or feature?
4. What part have special experiences had in determining your attitude toward any phases of school life?

5. Give examples of learning that you think involve insight.
6. Give examples of persons who have developed conditioned responses to each other.
7. Do you suppose that in Case 3 the teacher could overcome her conditioned reaction to teachers' conventions if she really wanted to do so? How?
8. Would it pay to take the trouble now for the person in Case 4 to overcome her fear of pouring water from a kettle? Is this fear likely to extend to other things?
9. In Case 5 we see how an intense conscious experience may interfere with unconsciously coördinated movements. Is it probable that the girl would have succeeded better if she had persistently imaged the act of diving successfully instead of thinking of the wrong elements she put into the acts?
10. Was there any extension of the original conditioning described in Case 1? Is it worth her while to try to recondition herself?
11. Do you believe that the single experience of having erred and been unjustly treated determined the subsequent behavior of Doctor X—— in Case 6?
12. Comment on any of the other cases given or describe similar instances.

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CHAPTER V

STAGES OF MATURING AND OF WIDENING ENVIRONMENT

The factor of maturing. No plant or animal is the same at birth as at maturity. The difference is not merely because of the effects of the same, or of successive, changes of environment on the original creature, but of an inner process of unfolding or maturing of the young organism. In many animals, such as frogs and butterflies, the form and habits of the creature are entirely changed when it passes from one stage of existence to another.

These changes of existence are not so sudden or so marked in the higher animals and in man as in most insects and in some other species. Man retains the same general form and parts, but the proportion of parts, and the ways in which they function, progressively change during development. A child is not a miniature man in form; his legs are five times as long when he is mature as at birth, whereas the body at maturity has increased only three times in length. The vital processes, such as breathing, heart beat, digestion, and metabolism become so different that a doctor must recognize quite different standards of healthful functioning at different ages.

In behavior, the passage from helpless infancy to active adjustment to successive phases of a widening environment, as powers develop and interests change, involves an entirely different outlook upon the world. The degrees and kinds of functioning at different stages are not at all the same. To factors of endowment, environment, and their matching, and the effects of special experiences that produce individuality and determine mental health, we must add the maturing process which con-

tinually determines the general nature and direction of development. Each stage is different from the preceding one, but grows out of it; and physical vigor and mental health in each stage is influenced by the experiences of the earlier stages. Every new situation and response needs to be incorporated and integrated with what already exists in order that unity, vigor, and health may be preserved. Only when something is known of the usual healthful development of infants, through childhood, maturity, and old age, can we determine what is favorable to the mental health at each stage of life. Stockard has demonstrated that when maturation is rapid, either in general or in special parts, changes in environment have the greatest effect. This explains the varying influence of environment according to the kind and degree of development most prominent at the time.

Significance and general course of development. In order to appreciate the interaction of environment and heredity, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the more important phases of maturing and of the growing prominence of new phases of the environment. From earliest times and among all groups of people, the three stages of infancy, childhood, and adulthood have been recognized. Infancy, with the mother the dominating factor in the baby's life, has always been considered to last at least a year, and often for six or seven years. Childhood, having adult supervision but with companions becoming a more prominent feature of life, lasts until the early teens. This is followed by the adolescent, or transition, period, which occurs a year or two earlier in girls than in boys. Then the individual assumes the responsibilities of an adult member of the family and of the community, followed by the founding of a new family. There is no complete break in the process of development, but scientific study shows marked differences in its various phases.

The factors tending to make all individuals of the same age alike are (1) the progressive unfolding of species characteris-

tics, and (2) the prevailing culture habits of the group surrounding the child. The factors promoting individuality are (1) original differences, (2) the selection of, and response to, certain phases of the environment, and (3) the influence of special conditioning experiences. The white, the black, the brown varieties of the human species, notwithstanding their hereditary characteristics, have species traits that make them all resemble each other. Each variety has its special behavior largely determined by the culture and standards of the group to which it belongs. In spite of these common influences, individuality of feature and behavior is found in every group. Whatever the race or culture group to which an individual belongs, his personality can be understood only by studying his reactions in the various stages of his development in response to the situations confronting him.

1. *The first three months.* This first stage of development is important not because of any voluntary reaction of the infant, but as a period for unifying the physiological functioning in the new outside environment. Never before has the infant breathed air, taken food through the mouth, digested it, or eliminated waste material as he now does; nor has he engaged in free twistings and turnings, or experienced distinct contrasting states of wakefulness and sleep. In adjusting and regulating these various processes the child can do little except indicate comfort or discomfort. He is at the mercy of his caretaker, who may be wise and consistent, or foolish and variable, in the treatment given. If the child is kept comfortable in temperature and position and fed proper food at the right intervals, there is little crying or fretting, and rhythms of sleeping, of waking, and of elimination are generally established as he begins adjusting to his environment. His bodily processes thus become harmoniously related and unified.

A less fortunate infant becomes uncomfortable and cries *before* he is fed and, as a partial consequence, does not digest his food

well, cries more, and is perhaps fed again; suffers more indigestion, does not eliminate properly, and does not sleep well. Very slight maladjustments of treatments of needs, although the same directions are being followed, may make a tremendous difference in the physiological functioning and behavior of two infants. Harmony, unity, and consistency may characterize one, and conflicts and lack of unity, the other.

During the first few months of a child's life he grows rapidly, nearly doubling in size. He starts at a loud sound, and clasps with toes, fingers, and lips small objects gently touching them. He reacts to general cold and heat but makes few definite movements in response to special stimuli of skin, nose, tongue, eyes, or ears. No matter what stimulus he may receive, there is little he can do to increase or avoid it or to combine one stimulus with another. Hot or bitter substances are sometimes thrust out of the mouth, and pain and pleasure, especially of bodily condition due to cold, hunger or colic, are rather clearly manifested. The eyes turn toward bright objects and soon follow objects that move slowly. As this period closes, the hands move freely and cling to objects touched. There is turning of the eyes toward moving objects, and of the head in the direction of sounds.

2. *The second three months.* This period is characterized by integration of behavior and the development of voluntary reactions to outer stimuli. Movements of head, eyes, and arms are coördinated with each other and with the larger muscles of the body involved in sitting. The infant develops rapidly, becoming able at four or five months to direct his eyes toward an object, to reach his hands toward it, and to bring it to his mouth, while keeping his head erect and his body in a sitting position.

He can now in part control his sensations by touching objects seen, and he can produce sounds by pounding and by voluntary use of vocal organs. He thus begins to exercise a little selective control over the parts of the environment that stimulate him. This process of adjusting his movements to the objects surround-

ing him marks an important phase of individual development.

Special traits, more or less hereditary, may begin to reveal themselves, such as left- or right-handedness, although most children at first use the two hands together or the one most convenient. Preference for one hand over the other is more likely to be shown in reaching for more distant objects, and in difficult movements. Only after much practice, and sometimes only after using one hand more than the other for many years, does the right-handedness or left-handedness become a distinct individual trait. Perhaps all but a few children, if conditions were early arranged so that more satisfactory results were obtained by the use of one hand than of the other, could be made either handed; but without such arrangement it is certain that some are likely to get greater satisfaction from using one hand than the other. This is probably because of slightly greater vigor or earlier maturity of one arm or brain center. The same is probably true of other phases of development.

3. *The second six months.* The last half of the first year is marked by great increase in the control of all parts of the body, giving greater unity of action and more freedom in choosing the phases of the environment to be reacted to. Not only is the child able to turn himself over, but he can assume the sitting or standing position, and usually walk holding to something, and perhaps maintain balance without support while walking. He thus varies his environment and acquires a great deal more skill in manipulating it for his own satisfaction.

Objects, rather than people, foster skill in adjusting to his environment, and if his bodily wants are looked after in such a way as to keep him comfortable, and if not too much interfered with in what he wants to do, he plays contentedly with his toys. If the child is uncomfortable, making unusual noises to amuse him, or even allowing him to play with new things will not long divert him from his bodily discomfort.

People are interesting chiefly as they add to or detract from

the child's comfort. The processes of washing and dressing may do either or both. If the child is hindered or thwarted in what he is trying to do, he reacts in a way that interferes with the manipulations of the nurse; but if he is carefully handled so that interference is short, and satisfactory freedom quickly obtained, he soon learns to adjust his head and limbs in ways that facilitate his being washed and dressed. The general attitude of individual infants of a year toward the words and acts of others is often quite definitely antagonistic or coöperative, according to the way in which they have been dealt with by the caretaker. Before the child has a distinct conscious personality these attitudes, more or less favorable or antagonistic to the world in which he lives and to his associates, are being developed.

The child's discovery that his limbs and his tongue are to a considerable extent under his own control results in a large amount of sensory motor play in which motions are made again and again until their novelty is lost and full control is assured. An object is shaken, or struck, or felt of not once, but many times without stopping. The vocal organs are used as playthings as the child makes the same sounds over and over. The muscular sensations that accompany these movements help the child in getting a knowledge of himself, while the sensations of touch, sight, and hearing help him in getting acquainted with the objects around him.

Interest in muscular activity is doubtless a large factor in the imitative movements that begin to be made about the close of the first year. Whether there is a native tendency to react to sights and sounds in ways that produce a repetition of a similar sound or motion, or whether such action grows out of incidentally produced conditioning sensations, there is no question of the fact that, more than any other animal, the child imitates the sounds and movements of his fellow creatures. The tendency, which becomes a prominent feature later, to imitate more

complex acts is probably developed by the desire to know how observed acts feel when performed by self.

4. *The second and third years.* From one to three years is dominantly a socializing period with imitation prominent, although there is also much increase in muscular control and considerable extension of the environment. It is partly through imitation that the child enters into and shares the conscious life of others. He identifies his own experiences with those of others, smiling when they smile, and sharing their terrors and delights. He likes to have them look and listen with him, and to join or alternate with him in doing things. He observes their tones and facial expressions, shares their feelings, and anticipates what they are about to do, in this way being conditioned to all sorts of social stimuli.

Such experiences supply the basis for the learning of the language spoken by those about him. At first it is all meaningless, but as the same words are repeated in connection with objects, acts, and emotional experiences, they serve to recall experiences of that type. "Mamma," "come," "dog," "no," "hurt," etc., are called to mind by the appropriate sound, and the idea is mentally produced. This constitutes the beginning of a most important type of development in children which is possible to only a slight extent in other animals. Intelligent dogs and other animals may exceed the child in their ability to perceive what should be done by observing attitudes and facial expressions and the significance of tones and gestures; but in getting the meaning from words independent of these accompaniments they rarely or never reach the facility of the two-year-old child who has had an equal chance to learn them.

Acquiring this ability to understand and to use words is of the greatest importance in two ways. (1) It greatly increases the practice of reproducing and imaging former experiences of what is not present. Experiences of objects and acts occurring only once or a few times may be mentally reproduced many

times if words associated with them are repeated. The power to image means the ability to live not only in the present, but also in the past, and in anticipation of the future. Man naturally develops this tendency more than any other animal. If deaf, he develops the power to image without the aid of words. Words, however, greatly facilitate this development.

(2) Sharing the mental life of others is also greatly facilitated by acquiring their language. From observed reactions one comes to feel, not only that hot objects are painful to self and to others and that sweet ones are agreeable, but that words mean the same whoever utters them. This assumed similarity of feeling and understanding must have a good deal of justification, otherwise no common understanding of language could be developed. Words have a certain individuality of meaning to each person, but commonality of meaning is dominant; otherwise they would not be of so much aid in facilitating interaction and coöperation between human beings.

In living with others the child's own interests and attitudes toward objects and processes in the environment are stimulated, and he learns the usual ways of reacting to them by means of words. Words direct his observations and correct his classifications. A dog and a sheep may look much the same to him, but the persistence of older persons in calling one a "dog" and the other a "sheep" soon induces him to note some of the essential species traits. "Fruit" and "vegetable" may for years have indefinite meanings, but the child is continually learning to classify objects, qualities, persons, and behavior as other people do because the same words are applied to them again and again. His mentality is thus developed and molded by the language he hears.

At first, words are understood wholly in relation to the situations and reactions with which they are associated, as in the case of animals; but soon the child does what the animals cannot do—he interprets words by means of other words associated with

them. By associating with people, imitating them, and learning their language during these two years from one to three, the child is socialized and becomes a member of a particular group having distinctive traits. He acquires their customs and taboos by imitation, instruction, direction, and compulsion, and is thus more or less harmoniously adjusted to them.

Many conventions are insisted upon in connection with his toilet, his eating, and his behavior toward different classes of people, things that in themselves have little or no significance to him. Slight or intense antagonism on his part is often developed in getting him to conform more or less perfectly to such conventions. Older persons are most concerned in bringing about this conformity, and the child's attitude toward them and toward the customs and conventions depends upon how much his activities have been interfered with or facilitated by such regulations. A word spoken to one child is followed by certain expected acts as a matter of course. On the other hand, the same word spoken to another child is followed by a struggle, by imperfect compliance, or by continued defiance. Thus people using words as tools become still more important and influential in the child's environment than in his earlier stages. He now shares the *mental* life of others, and his thoughts and behavior can be influenced continually through the medium of words.

In the early months, the child senses differences in the behavior of others, but in the second and third years he recognizes individuals and develops fairly consistent ways of behaving toward each one. While learning to distinguish other individuals he also learns something of himself as a distinct personality with a name. This specially behaving individual is always present, and his performances are felt as well as observed. Thus consciousness of his own personality, with its bodily sensations and memories more or less constant and similar, usually becomes definite enough in the third year for him to use the pronouns "you" and "I" correctly. Now the child is not only a personality,

but is consciously a person with possessions, powers, and interests of his own.

5. *From three to six years.* This is a period of more complete individualization of the personality as it reacts to a wider social environment. There are more social contacts, especially with other children, some of whom are of nearly the same age. Although adults usually continue to dominate in the social influences to which he is subjected, the child enters upon a more independent stage of existence. He needs less care, and instead of sharing his activities and interests he attempts projects of his own or indulges in interesting imagings.

This independence at about four often takes the form of contrariness. During the previous stage the child has often imitated others and shared their mental life as he develops a common consciousness with them. Now there is often a reaction against this in which for a time he wants to do things alone, and sometimes does just the opposite of what others suggest he shall do. He continues to imitate animals and people, but in his own way, especially in imaginary and dramatic play.

He not only imitates acts with the help of imaginative accompaniments, but he imagines himself as a snake, a dog, or a policeman, perhaps for long periods of time maintaining the adopted rôle. At first it would seem that this treatment of imaginary objects and even of imaginary personalities as if they were real would lead him into endless confusion. Nearly always, however, when the child has contacts with real objects, animals, and persons, his play with imaginary ones serves to make clear the distinction between the imaginary and the real. The fact that these imaginary objects, animals, and persons are under the control of his will and are symbolized only by what is being manipulated, while real things are visibly present and not so easily made to perform by him, brings into sharp contrast the difference between the imaginary automobile symbolized by a chair and the real automobile, etc. His assumed personalities are also in suf-

ficient contrast with his real self to emphasize his own permanent individuality.

If, however, a child is not successful in dealing with his environment and is antagonized by others or does not share their mental life, then the imaginary world is likely to be more satisfactory than the real world. Lack of success in contacts with things and persons, much practice in constructing an imaginary world that is more agreeable than the real one, and the general tendency to believe in the reality of what one desires, may lead a child to become a day-dreamer who is more and more cut off from living a life of adjusting to a world of realities. Yet to the child who is interested in the real world and its people and generally is successful in his adjustments, such excursions into fanciful worlds are only interesting play from which he returns with new zest for realities, and perhaps with new ideals.

6. *Childhood from six to twelve.* Although there are no marked or sudden changes in maturation processes, physiological or mental, during this period, there takes place a gradual and almost constant increase in size, strength, and intellectual ability. The changes, other than gradual ones, that occur, are initiated by the environment.

This is a period of increasing influence of companions. Among nearly all peoples the period from six to twelve is one in which there is contact with many persons outside of the family, especially those near his own age. He needs less protective care, spends more time away from home, and usually seeks the companionship of other children. While developing his individual characteristics, he is also being socialized as one of a group of equals. He is not continually under the dominance of adults to whose superior strength he must yield or upon whose love he may presume.

In all interaction between parents and children the child usually gets help because of his weakness, ignorance, and awkwardness. He is cared for and excused from responsibilities. He gains

his ends by lovable acts, or by making things disagreeable when he is thwarted. The parents' conduct is regulated in accordance with the general customs and ideals of their group.

When the child begins associating with other children, most of this is changed. Helplessness and crying bring him no loving care, but only contempt or ridicule. Superior strength and intelligence are of immediate advantage in getting what he wants. He competes with his fellows and learns the advantages of reciprocity in giving favors. The more prominent and powerful he can make himself, the more satisfactions he can obtain, and thus he enters upon what is sometimes called the "big Indian" stage of existence. In the presence of other children adult conventions largely disappear, but not until the last half of this period are they replaced to any considerable extent by child or gang conventions.

The games of this period of association of equals naturally become competitive. The more the child develops his individual powers, the more successful is he in games and in getting place and prestige among his fellows. Contacts with children of different ages, especially those who are older, have considerable influence. From them he learns how games are played, and the ways of regulating plays and social affairs.

Attitudes toward younger children are influenced by the way he is, or has been, treated by older persons. If he has been bullied, he in turn bullies younger children; but if he has been treated protectively or with fairness, the same attitude is more likely to be assumed in dealing with his younger companions. Sometimes parental ideals and precepts continue to be effective, but gang approval becomes more and more potent.

In all civilized countries the schools become an important socializing influence during this period. Theoretically, the teacher takes the place of the dominating and authoritative parent. Practically, in most American schools, it is not simply the teacher as a person, but the teacher as the administrator of a system for

carrying on common activities and acquiring the essentials of group culture. The children are all expected to behave in the same way and the teacher more or less skilfully keeps the system working. When the children have become habituated to the system, the child who would vary from it is often restrained from doing so, more by habit and the example of his fellows, than by the personal authority of the teacher.

When the teacher shows either personal irritation or special interest in a pupil's affairs, the relationship is sometimes more like that of parent and child, and sometimes more like that of an older and a younger child. In either case, the personality of the teacher plays a much larger part than when she is the rather impersonal administrator of the system. The more prominent this personal element is made, the greater the effect upon individual development.

The system, if generally conformed to, develops commonality; while the effects of personal qualities of teachers from year to year in general increase individuality, some children being influenced in one way by a particular teacher and some in another.

During this period the child in civilized countries acquires the useful tools or skills of reading and writing, by means of which he can receive and give information of distant places and times, and communicate with persons not present. With his previously acquired imaging and word ability increased by a knowledge of written symbols, he has his environment indefinitely enlarged. He can become familiar with all sorts of things and learn how other people react to a great variety of situations.

Before this period is past his ideals, and sometimes his conduct, are being influenced more by such knowledge than by what he has himself observed. His heroes are no longer of his own family, school, or community, but are represented in the newspaper, the movies, the radio, as well as in history and literature. With such a world environment made accessible, it is

impossible that a child shall continue to be dominated wholly by family and companions. The teacher, who brings much of this environment to the child, may by selection and emphasis exercise a great influence over his interests and development.

7. *Adolescence: the transition period.* During this period, which extends to about eighteen years, there are marked physiological and emotional changes produced by the process of maturing. There is a decided increase in rate of growth, first in height and then in weight, followed by slower growth as maturity is reached. There are many changes in the relative sizes of the parts, especially of the face, great increase of strength and endurance, and the appearance of secondary sex characteristics as a result of activity of the sex glands. The skin becomes more sensitive, especially in certain areas. There is considerable modification of interests and activities peculiar to each sex.

As these differences appear the sexes segregate for many forms of work and play, and develop under the influence of their special sex activities and ideals. Usually for a time the groups are somewhat antagonistic toward each other. A little later individuals of the separate groups are attracted to each other and form more or less permanent attachments.

Among a large proportion of people there are special ceremonies to mark the transition from childhood to adult life, with a distinct change in status of the youths and maidens within the group. Everywhere they pass from a condition of more or less irresponsibility and dependence to one of responsibility and independence. In civilized countries this process is gradual and often delayed while the individual is educated for a special vocation.

In most countries there are taboos and restrictions limiting the exercise of the new and strong impulse to sex mating. These cause many complications when individuals are for many years non-self-supporting and unmarried. This results in considerable repression or in conflict with social conventions, both of which

are unfavorable to the development of harmony within the individual.

At no time are the extremes of individuality in children of the same age so great as in the early portion of the adolescent period. This is very evident if one observes a group of seventh- or eighth-grade pupils. Some are mere children, and others are stalwart men and women. In accordance with the general principle that persons who vary most from the standard or average for their group are more likely to show abnormalities of functioning, it is easily understood why divergencies of behavior and personality are much more numerous at this period than at any other.

These individual differences are always obscured by statistical averages and emphasized in case studies, especially at adolescence. There is then a general change in rate and kind of development, but the age at which the changes are greatest is not the same for all: for example, many fifteen-year-old boys are growing rapidly, but some have not entered this stage of more rapid growth, while others have passed it, hence averages made on the basis of age are deceptive.

These differences are rendered still greater by the fact that parental treatment of youths belonging to the same group varies from subjecting them to more rigid control than in childhood, to leaving them almost wholly without parental control. Some are still being supported and indulged by their parents, while others are expected to earn their living.

The increased interaction with those of their own stage of development or age which characterizes the preceding period, continues in perhaps an even greater degree. The association now, however, takes a new direction. There is less individual competition and more coöperation between members of a group, though competing with other groups. The period of from twelve to fifteen is marked especially by the formation of cliques or gangs or clubs, which hang together for a greater or lesser time.

These groups may develop in connection with various interests and activities. Although the groups are supposed to be democratic, leaders play a prominent part in their behavior. They are always controlled in part by customs and enacted rules, although the group may be engaged in active opposition to the customs and rules of society. Loyalty to the group and to its needs and traditions is always one of the chief virtues cultivated in all gangs and clubs, good and bad. This means, in effect, that the individual acquires a larger self with which he becomes intimately identified. Some of this attitude has, perhaps, been previously developed to some extent in connection with family and school.

The adolescent stage of development offers many difficulties of adjustment, not wholly because of bodily changes, new mental adjustments associated with a broader outlook, more responsibilities, new ideals, and varied social conventions, but because of the combination of these with various treatments, often unwise, by persons in authority. At the time when the youth desires to try out ideals or to face realities and take the consequences of his more or less experimental testing of life's possibilities, many parents become most fearful that the youth's character and career may be ruined. The intelligent youth who tries out various modes of behavior and notes the results is doing in reality what the child of four or five is doing in his imaginative play, and with only a little more danger of self-injury. Wise counsel and consistent example of others, together with considerable self-responsibility, are likely greatly to diminish the dangers of his experimental modes of action; whereas strict prohibitions and stricter supervisions frequently increase them. In any case, variations from conventional behavior at this time are much less likely to become permanent than when they occur later in life. A large number of respectable men, successful in varied walks in life, when questioned, have confessed to youth-

ful acts that were contrary to law. Attempts of parents to guard their children against unwise actions by warnings or by increased strictness of control often add to the youths' difficulties in developing one dominant, well integrated self from the many of which he is now more or less conscious.

When parents allow more liberty and responsibility and preserve faith in their young people in spite of their rashness, wrongdoing, or failures, there is a steady stabilizing influence that does much to insure a favorable outcome. At no other time in life is it so important that a person shall have some one who cares for him and who believes he will ultimately develop a worth-while personality.

Integration of stages of development. Health of personality development can be maintained by continuous harmonious adjustment to the changing situations that take place as the individual matures and as his surroundings and responsibilities change.

It is not advantageous to be kept too long in one stage of development, as is often true when a child is waited upon like a helpless infant long after he should be doing things for himself. Such treatment either unduly prolongs the babyish attitude of depending upon others, or develops antagonism toward those who restrict the child's self-activities, and sometimes it does both.

The opposite treatment of trying to induce the child to pass as quickly as possible through one stage of development and into the next often leaves important phases of his development uncompleted, while those of a later stage are superficially acquired. Sometimes it checks, more than it advances, development. The child who is urged to walk or to talk early may fail, lose confidence, and be greatly delayed in his development along those lines compared with the child who learns spontaneously as fast as he matures and develops interest. The same

is true when children are pushed too rapidly and continually in any manual or mental activity, such as drawing, writing, or arithmetic.

The author recalls a striking case of a father, who, discovering that his boy in the beginning of his fourth year had learned all but two or three of the letters of the alphabet, undertook to teach him the remaining ones. He urged the boy, even after he was fatigued and his interest had waned, to try to distinguish these letters. The result was that for a number of weeks the boy was uncertain about those letters, though he was accurate in naming all the others.

Arithmetic progress of the writer's children was impeded in another way—the unwise concentration on accuracy and speed in the use of symbols of arithmetical processes. The children differed by two or three years in age. Before going to school the first child could solve simple concrete problems, but after two or three years in school could no longer do so, although these problems presented no difficulties for the second child who was not yet in school. However, after the second child had been two or three years in school, he, too, was unable to solve little practical problems which, to the third child, still at home, offered no difficulties. Recent experiments by Washburne and others indicate that much time is wasted in trying to develop ability in long division and other processes before there is sufficient maturity.

By encouragement, but not by urging or force, some children may develop both oral and written language facilities far above those usual for their age; but these same children may need to have all their clothes put on for them because they are so bungling and helpless, and may in other ways keep the characteristics of an earlier stage of development.

Caretakers' attempts to decrease or to increase a child's rate of development may retard him or may produce unequal and unharmonious development. One of the most common results

of trying to hold back a child who seems inclined to develop too rapidly is a loss of interest; another is antagonism toward those in authority. The result of trying to accelerate development is that the child usually becomes skilful in certain kinds of manual and intellectual activities, though remaining babyish in his emotions. The results are often serious when a child who has some special ability is shown off in public and is given little opportunity to associate with children of his own age.

The child of inferior ability is often made to feel his inferiority by attempts to bring him quickly up to the usual standards for his age. This may mean that he will develop physically and emotionally faster than he does intellectually and volitionally, hence he will be unable to show reasonably good judgment in his adjustments to others and to the conventions of society.

Very few adults are wise enough to judge when any particular kind of activity is advantageous to a child, and how rapidly he should develop in any direction. Only by giving the child facilities and encouragement in a variety of ways and at various times, and noting his responses, can helpful judgments be formed as to what phases of the environment and what opportunities are most advantageous to him, and for how long.

Many children show special dominating interest in one thing for awhile, then drop it for something else. If the home and school environments are ample in resources and situations, and are in general favorable to development in accordance with the best conventions, the child may usually be allowed to follow his interests. He may engage in undesirable activities, especially when passing from one stage of development to another, or upon going into a new environment, but such unwise action is likely to be temporary if little notice is taken of the disapproved acts. Very sharp reproofs and severe punishments for using bad language, for rude behavior, and lying make these faults unduly prominent in the child's world, and their repression sets up a conflict in the child that would in most cases be avoided or ad-

justed to by the neutralizing effects of the favorable environment.

The repeated assertion that "mother knows best," or any similar emphasis upon the wisdom of those in authority, can never lead to wise self-direction, unless the individual finds evidence in his own experience that confirms the assertions. If experiences seem to contradict what one has been taught, the person is left for the time with no principles for gauging his conduct. On the other hand, if environment, example, and the consequences of acts are favorable, the individual himself will be continually developing generalizations and attitudes that will be useful guides in meeting new and difficult situations.

CASE I.—My neighbor, Mrs. N——, absolutely refuses to continue the habits begun at the hospital where her last three babies were born. She says that they are babies only once and that she is going to hold them and rock them whenever they show a desire for it. If they cry long enough, they are taken up and fed, fondled, or scolded as her mood happens to be. The oldest of the three little girls was between two and three years old when I first knew her. She was an attractive appearing child and very bright, but most disagreeable in manner. She was very sulky, nervous, and subject to spells of indigestion. She ate whenever and whatever she wished, and was often held in her mother's arms during a bridge game at a late hour. We dreaded to have her come to school for she was such a little tyrant.

However, the first-grade teacher in our building was a very refined, gentle, attractive little lady and L—— soon became very fond of her. In this atmosphere of tranquillity the little girl blossomed into a fine pupil, very popular with the other children. Fortunately for her, other babies have claimed the mother's attention, and she has had to go on her own responsibilities somewhat. She is now in my second grade and is a comfort to me and to her classmates. The next little sister is just as temperamental at home as L——, but away from her home environment responds quickly to regularity and harmony. She spends an afternoon with us occasionally and entertains herself in various ways without giving any trouble.

CASE. 2.—Richard is the only child in a family that consists of his father, mother, and an elderly aunt of his mother who formerly taught sewing in the public schools. He was six years old in December: a little tall for his age, very good-looking although frail and rather pale in appearance. He lisps a little, and gives the “s” sound to words beginning with “f”; “the song is sunny” or “my soot is cold.” Whenever spoken to, he usually says, “Yes.”

He is brought to school and met every noon by one of his parents. The father walks with quick, nervous steps and almost always has Richard by the hand; he kisses him good-by. The mother seems more passive and allows Richard to walk beside her without holding his hand. He has never played with other children, and I understand from neighbors is entertained a great deal at home by his parents.

He came the day kindergarten opened and because of his age had the privilege of entering the first grade. After observing him a few days I advised his mother to leave him in kindergarten, which she did. He did not know how to play with the other children; was very noisy, running after some child, awkwardly pushing him and laughing. When at the sand table he took great delight in throwing the sand. He would say he would be quiet, but remembered only a short while. In his play he became so excited that you could feel his heart thumping. His mother said he went to bed at night quite tired out. He shows a lack of confidence in himself as he usually asks before following directions, “Where shall I sit?” “Did you call me?” He quite often imitates other children who are misbehaving by making noises at rest time, pointing a finger, or by giggling.

During October he gained somewhat in self-control although at times it seemed that he deliberately did things he shouldn’t. One day to divert his attention from his wild running it was suggested that he make something at the work bench. He was pleased with the idea and spent the work period pounding small pieces of wood together and made a crude affair which he called a saw-mill. This he was proud to take home.

When on the playground he took delight in hitting and bothering Paul, another child who has never played with others and who is small, timid, and shy. One day he hit a child sitting near him and was reproved; later he in turn was bothered. In tattling he said, “Now you say something to him.”

In November Richard was ill with tonsillitis. Since his return

he seems more quiet although at times he spends the work period in aimless play. At other times he likes to sit at a table making drawings.

One of his pictures was of a house made of bricks. The outline of the house was filled with oblongs which he colored red; these were the bricks.

Recently he brought to kindergarten an outline drawing of the kindergarten room, putting in the different pieces of furniture, the pictures on the wall, the children, and the teachers. He is asking now to be allowed to do things for the group such as turning on the water when they wash their hands, holding the towels, moving tables and so forth. He has never been given any mental tests, but I am inclined to think he would score average or a little above. Although his adjustment has been slow there has been improvement since the first, and I hope the rest of the school year will help to develop his group consciousness so that his entrance into first-grade work will be normal.

CASE 3.—I was four years older than my brother, but he was just as strong and "fighting" is the word for our conduct. No other term is strong enough to include all the forms of kicking, scratching, biting, punching, slapping, and pushing that we employed.

It seemed as though we couldn't be together for even a few minutes without somehow reëngaging in hostilities with all the violence of which we were capable. Our mother was so disturbed that she would often burst out crying and declare that never had she seen a brother and sister who hated each other as we did.

This condition continued until my brother reached the age when he grew tall with the speed of a mushroom. After he was taller than I, we somehow stopped our fighting and merely argued. Gradually the arguments lessened their frequency, and we assumed friendly relations. After a while we presented a united front on most questions and became as ready to battle strenuously for each other as we formerly had been to battle against each other.

He has ever since been my favorite brother. Now we enjoy telling about how we used to fight. Strangers find it hard to believe. When he went overseas with the Army, I told him if he didn't prove to be Uncle Sam's very best fighter, it wouldn't be because I hadn't given him enough practice.

My mother was wrong in her diagnosis. We never hated each other. It seems to me now that each of us tried to dominate the

other, and we were so much alike and so evenly matched that it was impossible for either of us to succeed in dominating the other, or be dominated by the other.

CASE 4.—The girl A—— was a problem. As soon as she was able to walk, she began yelling for everything—when she wanted food, she cried; when she wanted to be taken from her chair, she yelled; if she was on the porch and thought she wanted to go in, she made it known by yelling, screaming, kicking the door, etc. Her mother usually came when she could endure it no longer.

When she was about eight years old, I have known her to scream and yell and kick for fully two hours. Her mother was almost beside herself, but she gave in to the child every time.

When she went to school, she was a good child, and although timid, did good work. I never knew of her screaming for what she wanted in school, but the moment she reached home she began to scream, kick, swear, and go into regular tantrums.

She kept this up until she was about twelve years old, and the older she grew, the worse she became. Sometimes she would scream until she was physically exhausted, and her mother, fearing bad physical effects, would have to give in.

After she was fourteen, this stubborn, hateful screaming and all her tantrums left her, and she developed into a very pleasant girl. She never again tried to have her own way by yelling.

CASE 5.—I am both right-handed and left-handed, and it seems to be about evenly divided. I write with my right hand, and mother said that I never seemed inclined to use my left hand when I was a little tot and amused myself with a slate and pencil.

Any one observing me now, not too closely, would say that I was right-handed; but to observe me for hours at a time it would be seen that I use my left hand about as much as I do my right hand. I use my right hand when clearing off the dinner table, but I always wash and wipe dishes with my left hand. If I pick up a large article, I always use my right hand, but if a very fine needle dropped on the floor, I would use my left hand to pick it up, for my right fingers seem to be clumsy and I can get a better grasp on things with my left fingers. I very often get wipers in my eyes and always use my left hand in taking them out. I sew with my right hand, but thread my needles with my left hand. I sweep, dust, use pointer on black-board with my right hand. In using the lantern

slides I always use my left hand in putting them in the lantern and taking them out, but my right hand when counting them and packing them in the box. If I am walking in a dark room, it is always my left hand that I put up in front of me so as not to run into anything, and I find that I have a much finer sense of feeling in my left fingers.

Mother said I always ate with my spoon in my right hand when I was a small child and later used my fork in my right hand. When I began to sew for my doll, it was seen that, though I used my right hand when sewing, I used my left hand to thread the needle. When I began to wipe the dishes, again I used the left hand and from then on we saw that for any fine work the left hand was always used.

Since you spoke about left-handedness in class I have been trying to find out about my own particular case. I have read Baldwin's *Mental Development*, and I think I discovered the reason, although Baldwin says it is not so. He makes the following statement in his book, but gives his reasons why it is not true; however, in my case it seems very probable. "A child's right-handedness arises from the nurse's or mother's constant method of carrying it; the child's hand which is left free being more exercised, and so becoming stronger." Why I believe this may be true in my case is this: When I was a few weeks old, three I think, my mother had what the doctors called a nervous shock, and her right side was paralyzed for over two years. During all that time she helped to care for me by holding me with the left arm. The rest of the time I was cared for by my sister who was twelve years old when I was born. She was very capable for a girl of that age: in fact, she was too careful of me. She carried me and held me with the right arm and would not let me grab or touch anything for fear I would get hurt; whereas mother let me touch things and grab at anything that would amuse me, but it was nearly always with my left hand as she held me so that my right hand was not so free. Mother said she held me a good share of the time while my sister was in school. My mother was not nervous about my touching things for she knew from experience I would not be easily hurt; my sister, on the other hand, kept me away from things for she was worried over her responsibility.

The above would tend to indicate that I acquired a keener sense of feeling in my left hand and could use it as well as my right even though I was naturally right-handed. I believe that for two years the use and the sense of feeling was developed twice as much in

my left hand as in my right, and then, when I began to get around by myself, my natural right-handedness made me use one hand as much as the other.

I have two first cousins who are left-handed so if I were left-handed, we would say it was due to heredity. I seem to be right-handed but with a keener sense of feeling and a more delicate touch in the left hand.

CASE 6.—Eleanor's parents had a high regard for the truth, and in a sane, dignified manner impressed upon the child the necessity of truthfulness on all occasions. Eleanor's Sunday-school teacher was an overzealous young lady who told her class the story of Ananias and Sapphira, stating emphatically that they were struck dead for telling a lie; she vividly depicted that section of hell particularly reserved for liars. All this so preyed upon the imagination of the child that her suffering became intense. Thereafter she became so overscrupulous that she was unable to make the slightest misstatement or exaggeration without bringing the matter up later for correction.

One of her greatest difficulties lay in the writing of letters. No misstatement must be made; no untruth to obtain some advantage or escape the disagreeable; no overemphasis of some social event to lend it unusual brilliancy. But the climax was reached in writing the complimentary close. "Truly yours," "sincerely yours," "lovingly yours" were all duly weighed and generally rejected as not being the exact expression of her regard, and the letter sent on its way with her unadorned signature.

But a change has come over Eleanor. She lost faith in her Sunday-school teacher and has fallen in love with a loquacious bond salesman who talks too much, talks too fast, talks too fluently to adhere strictly to the truth.

Now you may hear Eleanor speaking thus over the phone:

"Buy tickets of you for the benefit concert, Mrs. ——? Why I'd just love to, but only last night I bought five— Of whom did I buy them? Why, really, I don't know. Mother received them at the door."

So much for Ananias and Sapphira—alias John and Eleanor.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. What are some of the physical signs of maturity by which age may be judged? What mental signs?

2. If possible, get tests that have been devised to show degree of maturity, give them, and report the results.

3. Are people in a static society more or less alike than those living in a society that is rapidly changing? Why?

4. Is it to the credit or discredit of a school system that its graduates are all very much alike?

5. If possible, observe several infants under one year of age while they are being fed, bathed, or put to sleep, and report on the different kinds of behavior which are developing under the treatment that they are receiving.

6. Report observation or reading on imitation and language learning of children from one to three.

7. Visit a nursery school or kindergarten and report your observation on two or three children.

8. Observe children from six to twelve when they are playing or working with other children without supervision, and again when they are being directed by an adult with a view to discovering the advantages of each type of experience.

9. What are the advantages to children in the grades of having one or another of these three types of teachers: (*a*) a good administrator, (*b*) one resembling a loving parent, (*c*) one acting like a kind older friend?

10. Which type would you choose for the pupils of a high school?

11. Report high-school practices that help (*a*) to establish obedience to a person, (*b*) to develop conformity to regulations, (*c*) to increase group loyalty and conformity, (*d*) to increase self-responsibility.

12. Report cases of too much parental control of adolescents, of too little, and of any that you think just right.

13. Report instances in which you think children were being treated at one stage of development in a way better suited to an earlier or a later stage, and the results.

14. What interests of your own do you remember that were short-lived, and what ones persisted during long periods?

15. Report any case you have observed of a child showing different behavior soon after entering school, such as is reported in Case 1.

16. Would Richard have behaved as he did (Case 2) had he associated with children of his own age previous to entering school? Why?

Do you think that he had done much in the way of building or constructing things by himself? Why?

17. In Case 3 would the results of brother-and-sister association have been the same if the girl had been the younger? As conditions were, should the parents have made them stop fighting? Give reasons.

18. Why did the girl in Case 4 change so completely in her early teens? What part did maturing and special social experiences have in the change? Report sudden changes in behavior of children in their teens which you could not account for by any change of environment or by any special experience.

19. Was the girl in Case 5 probably dominantly right-handed or left-handed by inheritance?

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CHAPTER VI

DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSCIOUS PERSONALITY

Consciousness and purposes must be recognized. The strict behaviorist studies objective facts only. Such a procedure has the advantages of all objective studies in which facts are observable by many persons and can be measured; subjective facts, on the other hand, can be directly observed by only one person and cannot be accurately measured. Subjective facts, observed and inferred, however, constitute a vast and interesting field of study. Even if it should be admitted that states of consciousness are mere results or accompaniments of objective causes, yet they are in themselves very interesting phenomena. Every individual becomes familiar with these conscious states through his own introspections, and by inferring similar states in the experiences of others. In the present stage of knowledge, it is much easier and surer to interpret and predict human behavior from facts of our own consciousness, and inferences as to the subjective states of others, than from our purely objective knowledge of behavior facts. It is worth while, therefore, to study the emergence of the conscious self and its activities, as well as to observe objective changes in behavior.

Plants and animals are predestined by their species heredity to become adult individuals of their kind. They are not, however, capable of forming concepts of what they are to become. Man can consciously form such ideas, which may become purposes, and play a very definite part in directing the adjustments made. Man lives, not merely in the present, but in the past and the future. His success and his mental health depend very largely upon the way in which he adjusts his life in its time relations

so that past, present, and future are connected and integrated in ways that make for continuity, consistency, and unity.

We know little about the conscious states of an infant. They are doubtless rather fragmentary at first, determined by bodily conditions, outer stimulation of the special senses, and by the muscular feeling of the movements he makes. Until these are connected and coördinated there can be little continuity and unity of consciousness. Only the more intense stimuli at first arouse conscious states. There is no distinction between the bodily sensations and those produced by outer stimuli, and both are probably painful or pleasurable feelings rather than definite perceptions.

The elements of continuity of existence emerge from the varying degrees of comfort and discomfort produced by bodily states of cold and warmth, hunger and satiety, pain of colic and tensions of eliminations, weariness and rest. These are continuous although varying in degree, whereas the stimuli from without, of eye, ear, and other special senses, are intermittent.

Whenever the child moves, the muscular sensations serve as a connecting link between the more constant sensations of bodily condition and the variable stimulations of the special senses. The muscular sensations serve this purpose in an increased degree as movements become complex and coördinated.

In the early stage of helplessness the cry of the infant is the connecting link between the bodily state and the relief given by the nurse. He is a sort of god who has only to wish and the wish comes to pass—to speak and it is done. This attitude may be developed and prolonged and even be prominent in the adult life of persons much waited upon.

After a few experiences of seeing an object, reaching toward and touching it, and by more or less chance movements bringing it in contact with his sensitive lips, he gets so that by muscular effort he can control his bodily position, direct his eyes, reach, and get the desired sensations from objects. The more his move-

ments become coördinated and the more he is able to do what he wants to do by muscular efforts, the more chance there is for him to develop the idea of a comparatively constant bodily self, satisfying desires by means of muscular tensions.

He is now able to gain ends in two ways: one by the expression of desires and their satisfaction by an attendant, and the other by appropriate muscular efforts. The distinction between these two methods, and between self and not self, is fostered by the difference in sensations when things are done for one and when one's own muscles are the means. Not only do the muscular sensations differ in these two cases, but also the skin sensations. Objects moved by others fail to give the same sensations as when moved by self: for example, a rattle shaken by a nurse instead of by the child. The experience of getting two sensations whenever the hand touches any part of the body, and only one when persons or objects touch it, helps to emphasize the distinction between self and not self. The child thus distinguishes between himself and objects that do not move, and between himself as a moving object and animals and people as moving individuals. He not only perceives himself as behaving in a characteristic way, but feels the motions of his own limbs. Like objects and persons, he acquires a name, and is thereby helped to realize his own separateness and unity; later he is able to use personal pronouns correctly.

There is now a still clearer distinction between desires that are gratified by inducing others to act, and those gained by means of one's own efforts. It is enjoyable to do things one's self when the effort of doing is not too difficult or painful, instead of calling for help. At this stage it is easy to develop to a high degree either the tendency to call upon others to do for one, or to do most things for one's self. Resentment may be aroused in the child by the refusal of others to do what he asks, or by their interference when he is trying to do something for himself. In either case attitudes of dependence, or of self-reliance, or of con-

flict with persons in authority may be developed, and may profoundly influence the mental health of the individual all through life.

Experiences favorable and unfavorable to unity of personality. It is a general psychological truth that constant stimuli cease to be noticed: for example, a constant electric current produces no sensation except at the beginning and ending of its application. Very gradual changes in heat, light, and other stimuli are unnoticed. By heating water *very* slowly, a frog may be boiled without sign of pain. Sensations are experienced only when differing stimuli are received, or when stimuli are suddenly changed in kind or intensity. If the bodily conditions were absolutely constant, there would be no general bodily sensations. The more or less rhythmic character of hunger and satiety, and of eliminating stresses calls attention to the general sensory background against which special sensations of touch, sight, hearing, etc. appear. More marked variations, such as occur in sickness, greatly modify this background of bodily sensations and emphasize their importance. Both children and adults who experience such changes become more self-conscious and less easily diverted by the sensory stimulations given by objects. Periods of convalescence during which normal functioning is resumed, help to identify the bodily states of health and sickness as the same panorama with varying phases illuminated.

If a state of ill health is prolonged and associated with different surroundings, objects, and people, and accompanied by an entirely different program of treatment, certain behavior reactions become habitual. In recovery, the former surroundings and mode of treatment, with some revival of former associated memories and habits of reaction, are restored, and the former life panorama emerges. Repeated changes of this kind tend to develop two types of behavior, one associated with the health life and the other with the sickness life. Even an adult whose personality is well developed and unified sometimes remarks

after a spell of illness, "I feel like a different person." In either an adult or a child, a period of sickness not infrequently brings out quite a different personality that demands, and often receives, special treatment from others long after physical recovery.

If, during a period of illness, a child day-dreams, but in health responds chiefly to objective situations, each period acquires its own memories and attitudes, and there is a tendency to develop a double personality rather than one that is consistently unified. Even when the two personalities are held together by some relatively constant sensations and common memories, there is some lack of unity.

If an individual has his surroundings, his attending companions, and his voluntary acts continually changed, as may happen to a child passed from one home to another, and if he is often diverted from what he is doing to something else, there is little opportunity to develop a unified consistent personality of any kind. His conscious life consists of varied and little-related experiences, rather than a continued though varying existence. Some personalities are better unified than others, but in extreme cases only is there a splitting into two or more distinct selves. In general, sickness increases consciousness of self, whereas health unobtrusively unifies and integrates the personality.

The best examples of two distinct personalities are found in cases of persons, who after accidents are restored to consciousness without any definite memories of the past, although some habits and skills are retained. One individual example is that of a man who, after an accident, retained his ability to talk and to manipulate utensils, but did not recognize his relatives and friends or anything in his surroundings, although he seemed to prefer the company of his family and fiancée to that of other people. After several months he awoke from sleep with all his old memories present, but with his mind a complete blank regarding what had happened during the months since the acci-

dent. After a time, he suddenly changed back to the second state, and lived in that for a considerable period. These shifts occurred several times during his subsequent life, one set of memories dominating his life for a time, then the other set, with no common memories connecting them to unify the separate personalities. Continued well connected memories are clearly important contributions to the identity of self life.

Dreamers and somnambulists sometimes live at night a life different from their daytime existence, accumulating two sets of memories and two different life attitudes. Phenomena similar to this may be developed in hypnosis, in which the acts and memories of the hypnotic state are kept separate from those of the waking state, although purposes formed in the hypnotic state may be carried out in the waking state. For example, when hypnotized, a subject may be induced to resolve to go to the table and get a certain book, or take off his coat, or to jostle some person in the room at a signal such as the striking of the clock. When he awakes, he performs the act as planned without knowing why he does so, although he may make up some excuse in order to avoid appearing silly. It is, however, difficult, if not impossible, to induce a hypnotized person to perform an act essentially out of character such as stealing, or an immodest act.

Other individuals, when not hypnotized, if given a pencil and their attention is attracted elsewhere, may begin to draw or to write automatically. This tendency may be developed until the hand performs and responds to suggestive stimuli, and perhaps to questions, in a skilful, and what seems to be an intelligent, way. This is similar to what some people do when their minds are occupied with ideas quite foreign to some complex and automatic process they are performing, such as reading aloud, tending a machine, or taking dictation. In such cases a complex group of activities are sufficiently well organized, conditioned, and integrated to function successfully, while other conscious

activities are being carried on separately. The practice of divided attention always favors this splitting off of one complex of activities from another, so that each is carried on with little or no interaction between the two. Some persons day-dream while adjusting to outside situations fairly well, and thus develop a split personality.

A considerable split is sometimes produced, but with more conflict in what is done, by acting for a while in accordance with one dominating purpose, then with another—as when one subordinates everything to obtaining money, pleasure, or power, then because of love or religion gives up everything for the loved one, or loyally sacrifices all for a principle or cause. Such domination by one purpose, then by an opposite one, may develop almost as distinct personalities as those of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. If one maintains a fundamental consistency of purpose in striving for various ends by appropriate means, the unity of the personality is preserved.

The tendency to unify conscious life seems to be as fundamental as the tendency to preserve bodily unity and harmony. What psychiatrists call “rationalization” is an effort to bring one’s aims and acts into seeming harmony, although in reality they may be inconsistent. Thinking and philosophizing are more legitimate attempts to find essential harmonies between ideas, interests, and desires. In both the normal and the abnormal process of rationalization there is much intensification of some activities and suppression of others, so that what is consciously represented in the pictures of one’s behavior is made to seem consistent. For this reason persons who are called hypocrites because of inconsistencies of profession and behavior are frequently self-deceived. Deception of self is much more common than conscious hypocrisy. When the latter occurs, it is often “rationally” justified by the individual as a necessary means of obtaining desired ends of great importance.

Enlarging of self by identification and projection. The internal self of feelings, ideas, and efforts seems to own the body that is associated and partly identified with it. Infants, however, pass through a stage in which parts of the body are treated the same as foreign objects: for example, a child of two or three months may scratch his own face repeatedly, and a little later may grasp his own hand or foot and bring it to the mouth, and perhaps bite it, as if it were a foreign object.

The tendency for persons to identify self with objects and tools being used is so strong that a fisherman, for example, seems to feel the biting of the fish at the end of the pole or line, rather than the actual changes in pressure sensations in his hands. An umbrella or a bundle carried for several hours or days seems a part of one's self, and is missed if left behind. Clothes are always identified with one's self, and have a marked influence on one's bearing. One's home grounds, and all one's material possessions including bank account and credit rating are inextricably entangled with the mental self. The same is true of one's family, relatives, companions, acquaintances, school, church, political party, city, state, nation, vocation, reputation, knowledge, and position in society. In a greater or less degree the self enlarges as these increase, and contracts as they diminish. Few persons can maintain the same type of personality when many of these possessions closely identified with self are suddenly torn away. The waif brought up in an impersonal way in an institution is sadly deficient in these personal relationships that enlarge and help to stabilize the selves of more fortunate persons.

The distinction between self, including possessions, and others and their possessions, may be sharp and perhaps antagonistic; or the feeling of mutuality may be highly developed in general or in special ways. Many household furnishings are mutually owned and used by the family, but some are identified with individuals almost as closely as are clothes. Family possessions,

position, history, and tradition are common, but each member of the family has his special place in the household and in the world outside.

The developing personality grows by identification with nearly everything perceived, read about, or imagined. As the poet says, "I am a part of all I have met." Self-identification and enlargement is prominent when one is gaining knowledge of great men, and it is intensified by seeing things they once possessed, and still more by having seen or known the person slightly or intimately. Some persons travel far for such experiences, or buy souvenirs because of the seeming self-enlargement gained by association with noted persons and places. Studying the life and writings of great men is a more effective means of enlarging self.

This tendency to identification has a reverse side in "projection." Understanding other persons is possible only by conceiving their mental states as similar to those we have experienced. Projection usually involves an overemphasis upon one's own emotions and ideas when dealing with objects and people. When we are cross or irritable, others seem to be actively aggravating and vindictive. Sometimes a self-centered person reveals his usual nature or his mood in judging objects as beautiful or ugly, and usually in judging persons as honest, crafty, jealous, sympathetic, suspicious, etc.; while a normal individual is much more objective in his perceptions and judgments.

The processes of assimilating outer experiences and making them one's own by identification, and of sympathetic appreciation of nature and of people through projective reflections of one's own mood and temperament, is a normal way of enlarging the personality which, as in all other activities, is subject to excesses and distortions. Only when there is a normal self being developed, does the process remain normal.

Sometimes a person may fail entirely to distinguish between objective and subjective, and between the experiences of self and

those of others. He so completely identifies himself with what he has observed, been told, or imagines, that he feels as if such experiences were his own. This is often done by the soldier in telling his war stories, and by the conversationalist who, after an interval, expresses as his own an idea that you have previously offered. Another type of individual describes persons as doing and feeling as he has himself done and felt, or imagined himself as doing or feeling. False confession of crimes that the newspapers have described are the result of identification, whereas the relation of imaginary crimes conceived of as actual are projections.

The best insurance against unhealthful identification and projection is an active life of objective achievement in which images are readily distinguished from the realities into which they are being changed.

In coöperative efforts and in the development of loyalty to a particular group with which one identifies himself, there is need to have a part, however small, in the group achievement. Those whose chief identification is by means of the achievements of ancestry, or countrymen, or of school teams, to whose successes they have contributed nothing, are liable to errors of fact and excesses of emotion. Cheering one's team is a slightly conscious and healthful impulse to have some active part in the enlargement of self through identification with the group and its achievement. The greatest enlargement comes from having made a real contribution to the success of a society or a cause.

Ideals and self-development. Ideals that are more or less conspicuously identified with one's own impulses and feelings are examples of projections and identifications of the self. They play a large part in determining ends or purposes and in directing the activities of self with reference to the present and the future. The consciousness may be chiefly concerned with the objective ends and the means being used, or with pictures of the self as realized in attaining the ends; but in either case the

essential element in ideals is their identification with a self present or to be. Whatever ideas are stimulating and agreeable are likely to be identified with the self and become more or less conscious ideals.

There is no such thing as giving one's own ideals to another. The ideals set forth must appeal to something in the personality of the one to be influenced.

Voluntary attention induced by interest and ideals rather than by commands and directions is of most value in developing and integrating personality. When dominant interests and purposes are maintained for long periods of time, they are the chief factors in determining what type of integrated personality shall be developed.

In early life it is natural for one interest after another to dominate for short periods of time, but with increased age and maturity the periods of attention are prolonged, and the activities of to-day adjusted and harmonized with those of next year.

In their imagination of themselves as a dog, a policeman, an Indian, a preacher, a milkman, and in dramatizing these ideas, children are experimenting with ideals of self in a playful way. Day-dreams involve imaginary experimentation only, whereas the caprices and escapades of youths are often trial experimentation with ideals that appeal to their nature. Later, in choosing and engaging in a vocation most youths select the ideals that are to dominate the rest of life, and these henceforth become prominent in thought and deed. Life success consists thereafter of making adjustments to these ideals in ways that are satisfactory to self.

To be effective, ideals must not be so different from actual possibility for the individual as to prevent anything being done to realize them. Merely admiring and wishing, without any attempt to find and to use means of approximating ideals, is useless. Holding such high ideals as to make all successes seem like failures tends to produce a feeling of impotency and discourage-

ment either temporarily or permanently, and sometimes induces acts directly the opposite of one's ideals. On the other hand, ideals so little in advance of present conditions and abilities as to call for no prolonged or intense effort have but slight influence in controlling behavior, and in adjusting present and future.

Ideals play a large part in healthful personality development when they are enough in advance of the present to produce increased effort in certain directions for a considerable time. This time should grow longer with age, and each advance should result in an ideal demanding still more intense and prolonged effort for attainment.

This last statement does not apply in every field, or perhaps literally in any field. It is often well, after attaining a certain degree of facility, to cease trying to improve in that way and to fix a habit that will function with enough efficiency to be useful in higher purposes: for example, skill in using a brush and in making exact copies may become a means of success in making original paintings.

The actualities of endowment and environment and of unavoidable responsibilities also often make it necessary for individuals to lower their ideals in some directions in order that they may achieve in others, and have enough successes to make life worth while. For many women it is impossible to attain their ideals of both a home and a career, and one must be given up or lowered in order that the other may be approximated.

An efficient personality is one in which natural and acquired abilities are used with increasing success in adjusting means to ends in objective achievements and in subjective satisfactions. This requires that purposes shall be related to each other in ways that will not permanently interfere with subsequent efforts to secure what is desired, and that some objectives must be temporarily and perhaps permanently subordinated to others. In general, the subordinated ones must be those least essential to

the more complete development of the personality. The stronger rather than the weaker endowments should also be utilized. Since time spent in attaining one purpose cannot be used in attaining other than contributing ones, it follows that the number and variety of attainments are practically limited, and one should accept that fact instead of striving for purposes that are unrealizable.

Only the more gifted can become efficient in many lines of objective achievements, but personal satisfactions may well be sought in a great variety of ways by both the ordinary and the gifted individual. Along vocational lines, specialization, if not too great, favors efficiency; whereas personal development and satisfaction is usually favored by the development of many interests and skills.

In general, the individual who behaves with fewest conflicts in purposes and efforts, and who least frequently sacrifices future advantages for present and more temporary ones, is the most efficient and healthful.

Adjustment of attitudes toward things and people. It is natural to increase pleasures and decrease pains. Objects giving pleasure are approached and those giving pain are avoided. Disagreeable things that cannot be avoided are endured or attacked. In a favorable environment the attitude of approaching and using becomes dominant, whereas in an unfavorable environment there are several possibilities.

One may endure what cannot be avoided, or he may seek some mode of adjustment that will make it more agreeable. If successful, this develops the attitude of approach and of adjustment either by changing the object or by changing the self, while failure leads either to avoidance or to irritation. For example, a person who moves to a new room and finds that it is too hot, that it is invaded by bad smells or loud noises, or that it is furnished with a very hard bed, has an impulse to find a more agreeable room, and may intelligently seek for a room and

location that will be more satisfactory. If this is impractical, he may keep the room and express his irritation in various ways, none of which are adjusted so as to produce a change in the situation.

Reactions in the direction of tolerating and enduring disagreeable things that cannot be avoided is a better mode of adjusting than that of continuing, and perhaps increasing, the irritative responses. Changing self by this means may be positive and intelligent. One may withdraw mentally from the disagreeable things and attend to something agreeable. Such a mode of reaction is really a process of changing and controlling one's environment mentally, while leaving it physically unchanged, and is often very useful and helpful in preserving a satisfactory existence in spite of unfavorable surroundings: for example, a girl often attended an imaginary movie while in the kitchen washing dishes. Such reaction produces no changes in the objective world that might be of advantage to self or others, and may have serious disadvantages: for example, tolerance of filth or evil, or increase of the tendency to flee from reality. There is truth in the saying that life is what you make it, but only a few can safely make their subjective life satisfactory to themselves regardless of objective realities.

Changing the objective environment so that it will be more satisfactory is a method much followed by human beings, especially when conditions of living are moderately hard. The inhabitants of warm countries usually endure discomforts without trying to modify the environment, but in temperate regions man is more likely to change the environment. Animals, on the other hand, change their location or themselves, and only a few, such as the beaver, construct shelters for themselves. Migratory birds change their surroundings regularly; some rabbits change their fur to match the region or the season. Snakes and hibernating animals do nothing to keep their bodies warm, but merely become less active physiologically as they become more nearly the

same temperature as their surroundings. Man alone adjusts to the climate by constructing clothing, buildings, fires, and by substituting one kind of growing plant for another.

Since man began using scientific methods to find out how to change his environment, he has advanced tremendously in this mode of adjusting. An individual who has successfully changed his environment by his own efforts assisted by the knowledge and machines of his people, is often scornful of the attitude of accepting things as they are, and may engage in useless struggles against his social environment to the injury of his own health and happiness. Sometimes it is as necessary to mental health to accept and endure some things, as it is to try to change other things.

The weaker individual and the one not fully dominated by ideals, may adjust to whatever situations come by adapting himself to them, and may thus enjoy a comfortable, healthy mental life without much strenuous exertion. Whatever type of individual is under consideration, the one who shows an increasing tendency to make non-adjustive emotional responses to similar situations as they recur, instead of coördinated adjustive responses which modify self or the environment, is decreasing his efficiency and endangering his mental health.

There is considerable difference between adjusting to the material environment and to a personal and social one. The physical environment is fairly constant and does not actively fight back or change its behavior because of what we do (a stream continues to move downwards whether we push with it or against it); but persons actively help or oppose us according to the way we act toward them. It is much more difficult to learn the laws of human behavior and to make successful adjustments to them than to become acquainted with the laws governing things. The difficulties are much greater when one tries to make another person over into what one would like him to be than to change objects. To influence a room-mate in such a

minor matter as getting him to put his things in their proper place may arouse antagonism and make him still more non-coöperative.

When we attempt to make over, not an individual, but the customs, conventions, or ideals of a group in accordance with our own ideas of what is better, the difficulties are often such that even the greatest reformers can scarcely remain normal because of continued opposition, misunderstanding, and failures. To be a practical reformer in such a difficult field as politics is almost sure to produce internal mental conflicts because it becomes evident to one that no success is possible without giving up some ideals in order to secure support for the ideals one is trying to establish.

The strong and aggressive individual may overcome opposition and change *objects*, but a less aggressive person may be much more successful in leading *people* to change their ideals and behavior. In general, it is much easier to adjust one's self to one's companions and to social conventions, than it is to change them. The easiest way to get the social environment more to one's liking is to choose one's social contacts.

The danger of reacting to the social environment by irritation or fear is even greater than of being irritated by objects, because such behavior often calls forth reactions from others that intensify one's own irritations. Persons who have developed antagonistic reactions after living together for some time are frequently powerless to change their behavior toward each other, even when both attempt to do so. Complete separation for a greater or less time is usually in the interest of the mental health of both.

The development of possible selves. Every individual continues to maintain identity of existence in spite of pushes and pulls of environment, social influences, and the attractions of various desires and ideals. He has within himself the possibility of developing any one or several of a multitude of

selves, and often does develop many in some degree. He may even appear to be an entirely different self at one time from what he is at another. The dignified and solemn minister in the pulpit may be the best story-teller in the parlor, and possibly also the most disagreeable insister upon his food prejudices in the dining-room. The savage warrior often gives place to the tender lover or the devoted father. The active thinker may be a lover of physical ease, the artist most disregardful of personal neatness and of social conventions. The statesman working for the welfare of his countrymen may be a harsh employer, but a most considerate husband, whereas a political grafter may be a most kindly and helpful friend of the poor.

There are no types of selves so different that they may not be found combined in the same person and exhibited at different times and occasions, often without the individual losing consciousness of these selves as phases or exhibits of his individual personality. They represent different purposes and habit systems, but their germs were in his native endowment, have been nurtured by his environment, and fostered by his volitions. Their inconsistencies are in part usually covered up by rationalizations.

Much conscious control of behavior, especially in early life, sometimes disturbs the natural integrative processes and the spontaneous development of the selves that would otherwise be most prominent. Overemphasis in the development of one self may bring a reaction in which the puritanical man becomes lewd; the steady workman, a carouser; the polite child, a hoodlum; the pious devotee, a cynical or cursing atheist; the energetic football player, a lazy loungeur. The tendency for intense activity of one kind to be followed by activity of an opposite type before return to normal is, in general, healthy. When, however, certain activities are voluntarily intensified and prolonged and others repressed, the natural stabilizing rhythm is exaggerated and distorted. The overrepressed man alternates between a life

of sin and one of piety. The will that carried one too far in one direction, may, after a contrary reaction, be used again in a still more repressive way with little probability of the development of a unified integrated personality.

No definite rules can be given individuals as to how far they should allow their feelings and impulses to guide them, and how far they should consciously *make* themselves do one thing rather than another, nor how long they should force themselves to continue one kind of activity. The appetite for any kind of activity, like the appetite for food in a normal individual under normal conditions, is a fairly good guide; but when there is a disordered condition, it is a very poor guide. Most persons succeed best when guided partly by their feelings and partly consciously by what they and others have found desirable and practicable.

The scientific dietitian can direct the diet of most persons better than they can choose according to their appetites and tastes. The individual's appetite cannot be ignored, however, and the dietitian succeeds best by putting the proper food before him at the proper time, rather than by having him follow a set of directions that he is to carry out consciously and voluntarily by himself. The mere act of consciously attending to the details of the prescribed diet often nullifies the advantages of better regulated eating.

Psychologists and educators are somewhat behind physiologists and dietitians in scientific knowledge of how to direct the functioning of interests and efforts. Some individuals achieve by inspiration, and others by perspiration. Each individual should observe and experiment to discover when it is best to use one method and when the other, considering both achievement and satisfaction in living. The more the kind and degree of effort and satisfaction are successfully alternated or adjusted, the better for both efficiency and health.

It is sometimes well tentatively to try out one vocation, then

another, as children do in their play, and as adolescents often do in more serious experimenting with life situations. Such seeming waste of time and effort is often made up later by more suitable choices and by integration of the varied experiences. The objective achievements of such persons are often greater, and the personality development broader than in those who early specialize in one line only.

Considerable aid may be given to youths in vocational and other choices by making clearer what a vocation or way of life demands or involves, and what qualities and efforts are necessary to success in pursuit of them. This may be done by direct instruction, by observation, or by study of biographies.

The meaning of life and the realization of its possibilities is not to be gained chiefly by a formulated system of philosophy, but through the experience of the individual as he lives through his various stages of development and realizes actually and in imagination the purposes of each stage as well as he, with his endowment and surroundings, is able to do.

In a backward look the significance of various choices of immediate and remote satisfactions is often more clearly perceived than at the time they were made. What older persons insisted upon is not infrequently regarded as less wise than one's own unimpeded choice would have been, though in other cases the reverse is true. There is a natural wisdom of childhood, of youth, of maturity, and of old age; and maladjustments are usually avoided by a suitable adjustment of all of these. In other words, the choices of an individual, young or old, though influenced by the wisdom of society and of authorities, should in the final analysis be the result of his own best judgment at the time.

CASE I.—John's mother catered so much to his every whim and desire that when he entered high school he was entirely unable to adjust himself to companions, schedule, or routine. (He had been tutored through the grade work.) He later attended college where he was the target of jokes and pranks. At home he never was per-

mitted to make a decision even on a trivial subject. Of his college life, he has few if any pleasant memories. Each fall he begged to be allowed to quit, but as always the mother's wish came first. He completed the prescribed course, returned home and for two years has led an aimless, tiresome life. He can make no definite decision as to what he will do. His home environment, always requiring compliance with the wishes of the parents, nurse, or maids, has made him unfit to do or care for himself.

CASE 2.—My first position took me from home to a very large city on the seacoast where I arrived late on a Saturday night. Sunday morning came, and with it an inexplicable feeling of loneliness and self-pity. My first thought was, "Why should I have come away from home and friends when it was not necessary? Why did I not stay there with my friends and enjoy happiness?"

It was mental torture to go for months without seeing a familiar face. With shamefulness I admit that often it was my wish upon going to bed that in order to escape the realities of the situation I might not awake in the morning. The quality of my teaching was affected by my mental attitude. It was a case of deathly homesickness, and never since have I encountered anything so conducive to mental ill health and to the feeling of insecurity as that experience.

There was a straw matting on the floor of my bedroom. Those September days were hot and sultry. When I would return to my room after a day at school, the smell of that straw matting would nauseate me. For years afterward my reaction to straw matting was the same—nausea, loneliness, and homesickness.

CASE 3.—Florence D——— was a teacher of rather mediocre ability. She often entertained her friends by telling stories of her parents who paid her extreme compliments, and of superiors and superintendents who singled her out for especial attention, lavishing praise upon her not only for her fine teaching but also her personal appearance and manner of dress.

Such stories became a source of amusement to those who heard them, especially when told concerning purported interviews which never could have been held.

Not long ago I discovered by chance that from early childhood this girl had been accustomed to have her mother find fault with anything which she did. No matter how long and carefully she labored over a task the mother's critical eye saw some flaw. At the same

time the daughter was the object of her adoration; however, the mother seemed to feel that if she approved too readily the girl might become conceited and unpleasant.

A short time ago I was privileged to help this girl win several genuine compliments which she received with great humility, but about which she said nothing. I wonder that she has faced her life in such a comparatively well balanced manner when she has really been like Midas starving for real food.

CASE 4.—Tom was an overgrown lad of fifteen. He preferred to eat, sleep, and just lie around. At the boys' club he had the reputation of being a loafer. The director of the club, when speaking of Tom, said he was lazy, lacked "pep," and acted lifeless. Tom was well aware of this situation, for the club workers were not hesitant about telling him that he was "good for nothing"—and he lived up to his reputation.

One day a new worker joined the staff. He became friendly with Tom. He suggested that he would help him to get a job. For the first time Tom showed unusual signs of life. The position was secured, but before Tom started on it, the boys' worker described with considerable vividness the kind of an office boy who succeeded. He used such words as "initiative," "wideawake," and "ambitious."

A letter from the employer some weeks later indicated that Tom was carrying out the new rôle in his job successfully. In addition to this the boys' worker watched for the ordinary daily opportunity to comment on the new life, power, and aggressiveness which Tom displayed in some game, while helping about the clubhouse, after a swim, or in the conversation

CASE 5.—Some of my earliest memories have to do with imaginative experiences. I used to sit by the hour playing with paper dolls which I had cut from fashion magazines and which I sometimes colored. The "dolls" were very real to me. Some I prized more highly than others. I was heartbroken upon several occasions when my mother accidentally threw them out.

I had whole families of dolls. They lived in an old sweater or bathrobe which I folded intricately and carefully to form compartments and rooms.

I used to talk to myself, pretending that the dolls were doing the talking. When I was made fun of, I stopped the talking, but, al-

though my lips no longer moved, I imagined their conversations with each other.

Besides the affair of the dolls I was fond of imagining I was different persons—an Indian, an actress, a cowboy, a Chinaman. I would go along the street in a brown study, looking neither to the right nor left. I often talked to myself, but once when doing this I was overheard by some one who hurled a most uncomplimentary epithet at me from a window. That cured me of talking out loud to myself, but I still went on imagining that I was other people and that I was doing other things. I was acutely aware of what I said and of what the imaginary characters said to me. Many times I went by people on the street, not recognizing them.

Even now at night, just before I fall asleep, I am apt to indulge in these imaginings. Judging myself impersonally, I believe I am in no way mentally unhealthy. The only effects of the dolls and the make-believe companions are as follows:

1. A vivid imagination that enables me to create instantly vivid mental pictures of oral or written descriptions and consequently a deeper appreciation and enjoyment of books, music, art, and literature.

2. Ability to put myself in the other fellow's place and to sympathize thoroughly with him in all things, even those I have not experienced.

3. Initiative.

4. Ability to amuse myself and to keep myself company even when I am alone.

5. A joy and zest for living—a feeling of, "You never can tell what is just round the corner."

6. Vision.

7. Hope and trust in the future.

Had I not played hard and long with other boys and girls, gone away to school, had friends, and in other ways led a normal and wholesome life I might have been worse off, rather than better, for these experiences. I believe that these factors prevented me from retreating into my imagination too much and helped maintain a normal balance.

CASE 6.—Henry is ten years of age, weighs forty-eight pounds, and is about four feet, two inches tall. He is in the second grade doing

average work in everything but spelling. He is one of seven children living in a small, immaculate home. The father is a common laborer, receiving two dollars a day. The mother makes use of clothing given to her, and her children are clean and nice appearing. She finds time to read and play with them for a half hour each evening.

Henry is a problem both at school and at home. Some mornings he will come in the room with a very pleasant "good morning," and work diligently all day. The next day may be just the reverse. When walking to school, he has thrown stones and quarreled all the way. When reaching the school-room door he will walk boldly in with cap on and not a word. The children will then say, "turn out for Henry this morning." Yes, every one must be careful what they say or do to him. For if he does speak, it will be only to curse. He slouches down in his seat and refuses to do any form of work. When I'm not looking, he will thrust his foot in the aisle and trip some one. Upon asking why he did such a thing, he will lower his head and roll his eyes, which are very dark brown, and say, "I didn't do it." On such a day there is very little use of his attending any classes. If he goes to the board, he will write most figures upside down to draw attention. If some one is performing a task quite accurately, he will insist upon calling it wrong; by doing this he uses more time and has the attention of the entire room. When it is time for intermission, I usually find some game for him or let him play in the sand table, for if allowed to join the others, he will break up a group game and hurt several before the period is over.

I have had four children from this family and find the two girls to be very hard working, quiet, well liked, participating in all games with the others. His brother is as disagreeable, disobedient, indolent, and careless a child as there ever can be.

I asked his sister how Henry behaved at home. She said her mother and father couldn't control him at all. He would curse at his mother and refuse to do anything for her. When the father was told about his actions, he would use corporal punishment, but this was a failure. He finally threatened to send him away, but this Henry didn't seem to notice.

He doesn't mingle with the other children very much, but if some one suggests playing a game with him, he wants to be the leader; after five minutes of playing he rebels, then withdraws from the game cursing every one.

If I use any form of punishment, which is usually depriving him

of a part in some school activity, he will suddenly burst out with some such remark, "My father will fix you," or "My father will see you to-night." However, when he goes home at night, he will say, "Good-night—be here to-morrow," in a pleasant tone.

CASE 7.—The mother of M—— was a most attractive woman with a personality which was so developed that it repressed her own daughter's personality to such an extent as to cause a great deal of mental unhappiness for the latter. Before the child went to boarding school, she had been taken here and there against her will; she had been made to do this and that which was antagonistic to her feelings. She probably had never been given a purposive task by her mother, or, if she had, her mother had never given her a chance to work out a plan for it, and certainly she had never allowed her even the least freedom necessary to choose or reject it. The child became nervous from the continual petting and nagging of the mother and, probably partly in consequence, developed paralysis of her face. She was sent to boarding school where she was permitted to have a few tasks. The friends she made were helpful playmates, yet her condition was still serious. After she finished school, she took courage, and in spite of her mother's disapproval she obtained a position. Of course that was a very wise step. In her professional duties she found expression of self and excuse for escape from her mother. Then she married a man who depended entirely upon her. In the duties that he demands of her she will perhaps find her sure cure, that is, if she can get away entirely from this mother influence.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. A severe sleet storm broke the branches of a tree and rendered it a misshapen individual of its species. Parts dropped off, new branches appeared, and after a few years its shape was again that of its kind. A man who had been consistently working toward the achievement of his ideals was temporarily distorted and thwarted by misfortune, but maintained his ideals and after years of effort became the successful embodiment of them. In what respects are the behavior of the tree and of the man alike, and in what are they different? Can the action of the tree be as individual as that of the man?

2. Do most children under three have too much freedom in doing things for themselves, or too little?

3. Give experiences of your own that tended to unify your personality, and others that tended to produce divergent selves.

4. Report in detail observations on the mental changes produced in a person (*a*) by a spell of sickness, (*b*) by several sudden changes in environment, (*c*) by frequent interruptions and changes in occupation.

5. Report on cases of double personality you have known or read about.

6. Have you ever continued a day-dream or chain of thought while objectively you were otherwise occupied? Is it sometimes convenient to do this? Is there danger in such a practice?

7. Give examples of "rationalizations" that are (*a*) at least temporarily favorable to mental health and efficiency, (*b*) that tend to disturb one's adjustments to realities and ultimately produce self-conflicts.

8. If a person is fond of a certain kind of food, exercise, or rest, is he likely to believe that it is good for him?

9. Which is the best check on distortion of personality through rationalization, (*a*) self-examination by introspection, (*b*) self-testing by objective achievements, (*c*) the acts and words of others?

10. Write rapidly as many answers as possible to the question: "Who are you?"

11. Go over the list and see what things mentioned are the most essential elements of your individual self.

12. Give instances of identification (*a*) of phenomena that you or poets have identified with self, (*b*) of temporary identification of the experiences of others with self. Would stories and plays have much interest if there were *no* such identification?

13. Give examples of (*a*) objects, (*b*) deeds, or (*c*) ideas of great men, the perception of which have distinctly enlarged your self.

14. Give instances of persons seeing nature and companions in accordance with their own nature or their mood at the time.

15. Give examples of persons who confuse their memories of what they have heard or imagined with real experiences of self or others.

16. How much difference is there between seeing a program or a project carried out, and of having even a small part in it?

17. Just what difference do you see between purposes and ideals? Is the goal of winning a race or of gaining wealth an ideal? Why?

18. Can one have too high ideals? Why?

19. Give examples of worth-while changes in ideals.

20. Is time and effort usually best spent in overcoming weaknesses

and deficiencies or in developing along lines in which one is strongest?

21. What are the indications that a vacation has been a success?

22. To what extent are you voluntarily able to change your attitude toward things, people, places, occupations, etc.? Give examples of how you do it.

23. Are you more likely to try (*a*) to change what you do not like, (*b*) to ignore, endure, or try to enjoy it, (*c*) to fuss about it?

24. Give examples of several of your selves, and of their growth or waning.

25. When you have a piece of work to do, do you usually force yourself to do it, or do you think about it in a way that leads you to want to do it?

26. Discuss the subject of vocational guidance.

27. If John in Case 1 had been of a more aggressive type, what would probably have been the result? If he had been left to his own devices, would he have been different in either case?

28. What could the girl in Case 2 have done to change her environment or her own attitude?

29. In Case 3, do you think that this teacher was trying to supply a real need by imagination? Were the mother's methods of dealing with the child necessarily the result of that mother's high ideals? Which does one more good, the ideals of others forced on us, or those made by ourselves?

30. In Case 4, which was the most important factor in making the boy change: (*a*) the job, (*b*) the sympathy of his friend, or (*c*) the ideals suggested by the friend's descriptions?

31. In Case 5, are you convinced that only good came from this girl's day-dreams?

32. Give your interpretation of Case 6, and suggestions as to treatment.

33. Was M—— in Case 7 fortunate or unfortunate in marrying a dependent, rather than a dominant man?

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CHAPTER VII

FOUNDATIONS OF EFFICIENT, HEALTHY LIVING

Necessity for stability. In building a house the first essential is a firm foundation. In installing a steam engine or an electric plant, there is even greater need for an adequate and unshakable base, exactly level. The most perfectly constructed buildings and machines become warped and inefficient if the foundations are not firm and unchangeable. Plants must be rooted in a proper soil before they will thrive, however favorable the upper environment. Animals must be assured of continuance of fairly constant life processes, of reasonable freedom from injuries, starvation, loss of air and heat, before we can expect them to perform efficiently.

With animals, the essentials of living being assured, the variety and efficiency of performance increase with maturity up to a certain point, and likewise with learning experiences. The same truths apply to man, but there is another factor, small in the case of animals, but large in the case of man: the ability to direct his behavior by images of stimuli not present.

Plants, being immovable, live in one dimension; animals, because of their ability to move, live in two dimensions; whereas man, by his power to image, lives in three dimensions. He can react to the present environment, change to another, or direct his activities by representations of past and future situations. The chief function of his intelligence and will is to enable him to adjust and integrate his past, present, and future experiences. A man who is unable to represent adequately what is not present and to adjust to it is subnormal. The one who shows no con-

sistency or balance in using his will in attaining future ends fails to achieve a healthy, integrated personality.

The essentials of healthy personality development are, therefore, first, security which makes efficient functioning possible; and second, an operative or conscious will which avoids interfering with present functioning while preparing for the future. These essentials must now receive detailed study.

I. SECURITY

There must be something that can be relied upon as unchanging if body and mind are to function normally. Freedom from disturbing shocks and the establishment of rhythms are the beginnings of physiological stability. The absence of supporting contacts disturbs conscious security in an infant; hence, if an infant is undressed and suddenly lowered, fright is produced. When a child is frightened, he seeks in his mother's enfolding arms the sensory security so necessary to early childhood. In the absence of the mother, contact with other adults is made if possible, and when persons are not present, some assurance is gained by backing against a wall or by covering the eyes. Constancy of environment, material and human, produces a feeling of security. The same environment markedly changed by darkness, by storm, or by the introduction of some new element takes away from this feeling; likewise the absence of parents or others who have been almost constantly present is also disturbing. Sickness, especially when severe pain is suddenly felt, may excite fear.

Two important truths should not be overlooked, however. One is that fear in human beings is excited and fostered by the imagination, both waking and sleeping. The terrors of an accident are felt in anticipation and retrospect and are often reproduced and intensified in dreams. Not only does imagination foster the maladjustments that come from fear shocks, but fre-

quently it is the chief source. (See Case 1, page 168.) Stories that excite no fears may cause extreme terror when remembered in a strange environment (as when a child goes to bed in a dark or partly lighted room in which nothing looks familiar).

The other truth is that if one has a feeling of security, little shocks of fear are agreeable. Children delight in being mildly attacked or chased when there is a protector at hand to give assurance of safety. The resourceful child and the adult adventurer are less dependent upon environment and enjoy the thrill of danger as long as they believe that they have the capacity to meet it successfully.

The best way to give children the pleasure of imaginary fears without agony or injury is to see that stories do not leave them with images of dangers that are not provided against. This applies especially to bedtime stories that involve tragedies or mysteries. When the child is in bed with no outer stimulus to divert his attention, the fear images are intensified, and the mind continues to grope for a way out of the difficulty. The ghost or mystery story should always be made to end in a way that clears up the mystery by a common-sense, and preferably by a humorous, explanation. The tragedy story should always have a supplement showing that in spite of all, life goes on in endurable and ultimately enjoyable ways. The demand for a happy ending is in the interest of mental health. However, the strong individual may be stimulated by tragedy and mystery to prepare to endure the worst without flinching, or to be active in the search for a solution of the unsolved mysteries of life.

Social security. Social security is of great importance in the life development of individuals. Each person needs to have a definite place in the social order. Small children thrive under the sense of approval, and need to know what to expect from their parents and teachers.

A few years later, the great need of the child is to maintain his place among those of his own age. At that time the ap-

proval of his mates means more than the approval of parents and teachers. To be compelled to dress differently from others or to behave in an unusual way may completely destroy his feeling of social security. In adolescence and throughout the rest of life the approval of others, especially of equals and friends, is one of the essential factors in security.

During a child's early years his security is largely dependent upon that of other personalities, especially of those upon whom he relies. A frightened, worried, uncertain mother or nurse can never instill a feeling of security, however faithfully she guards her children.

As a child gains in power to do things for himself, his experiences in meeting situations successfully increase his confidence in facing new as well as familiar ones, whereas his confidence declines as the result of frights and failures. Children not infrequently become overconfident, but more often the parents are overfearful and try to make the child or youth cautious by emphasizing immediate dangers, or by telling of those that are distant or perhaps improbable. This tends to make the timid child more timid, and the bold child reckless.

There is a healthful attitude of security when one tentatively seeks to meet all situations rather than to avoid them. Complete courage demands that one be prepared as a last resort to suffer, or to meet death, rather than to lose one's poise or cease to strive for desired ends. A thrill of fear, followed by the satisfaction of security, is a form of emotional success that is generally enjoyable. One form of this experience is attained by identifying oneself with the heroes in adventure stories.

Individuals differ tremendously in their readiness to take chances in general or in special lines. The gambler represents one extreme in financial matters and the miser the other. The healthy personality, though bold, is usually an investor in life's possibilities, rather than a gambler or a spendthrift. The individual who has always been secure and has successfully met some

dangers and developed courage is more ready to try new things and to take chances, than the one who has had painful experiences or made many unsuccessful adjustments.

Although security and courage are of supreme import in life, there is a general tendency to welcome some changes and uncertainties. The situations that bring horror to the weak may be most enjoyable to the daring adventurer. One is terrified by the possibilities of danger, whereas the other seeks danger.

The courageous individual is distinguished from the reckless one in that he discriminates between taking useless risks and undergoing dangers for worth-while purposes. The chances he takes are likely to be justified by the powers of adjustment or endurance that he believes he possesses.

Intellectual security. Stability and consistency of ideas are favorable to an internal feeling of security. A childhood spent in a constant environment of things, and of people who have well settled, conscious beliefs, whose conduct is more stable than the weather, and who, when exigencies arise, are ready with assurance of sympathy and help, tends to develop a sense of security that is wholesome and satisfying. On the other hand, frequent changes in environment, financial ups and downs, worries about income, health, or social position, and above all, the breaking up of the home by death or separation, are particularly unsettling to child or youth. Introduction into new surroundings where different customs are followed and different beliefs are held may also be disturbing.

Whatever excites doubts of the correctness of old ideals and beliefs takes away from the feeling of security and makes one seek for new certainties. The results of mating and of occupational life are of profound influence in adult life. A happy marriage and vocational success are the best bases of security, whereas unsuccessful mating experience and failure in vocational adjustments render it almost impossible to maintain confidence.

Security implies not only maintaining one's physical and so-

cial existence but preserving conscious selves from destruction. Approval of parents, of teachers, of companions, are the chief elements in youth's mental security; whereas adults seek financial, social, and intellectual security, and need faith in friends, in a cause or ideal, in the constancy or reasonableness of the universe, and in the worth-whileness of life, and many are greatly helped by some form of religion or philosophy.

Religion may give security in spite of financial reverses or occupational failures, or the death of intimates; but when trusted friends prove false or dissensions with loved ones occur, religious stability is usually endangered.

When one's religious beliefs are based on certain doctrines and ideals of God, stability is often destroyed by scientific or philosophical truths and conceptions that seem to contradict old beliefs. If faith in the church is the chief basis of religious confidence, it is less likely to be disturbed by scientific or philosophical studies, since the church remains the supreme authority in religion and morals whatever else may be questioned or proved.

Theology and theoretical philosophy are in themselves important unifying and stabilizing factors. If they are changed and a long period of skepticism follows before confidence in a new faith or philosophy is established, there is often considerable disintegration of personality, especially if opposing ideas are temporarily accepted. Sometimes unity is again restored by the acceptance of a system of ideas and ideals which admits of the retention of the essentials of the opposing systems. It is not unusual for a believer in fundamentalist doctrines, confronted by scientific facts or theories, to adopt a liberal theology within which his scientific concepts may be incorporated. In other cases, the scientific concepts dominate and are harmonized with the moral practices inculcated by his now forsaken religious doctrines.

To be a unifying influence, philosophy and theology must be

intellectually consistent in the mind of the person holding them; and to be emotionally satisfying, they must be adjusted to ideals and to behavior.

In persons not much given to reflection, there is often no clear formulation of theological or philosophical beliefs or any appreciation of their self-consistency, but merely an abiding feeling that certain things are to be expected of the world and its people, and that these must be met and reacted to in certain ways.

Experience is a large factor in forming this practical philosophy of life. One person finds a universe of law, another a world of chance and luck. One faces a hostile world, another a friendly world; one a world filled with guile, and another a world of kindly bounty. One is constantly hopeful of a better future, and the other always anticipating something worse. One thinks of himself as the maker of his own destiny, here and perhaps hereafter, whereas the other regards himself as the victim of fate or the helpless product of circumstances. To one, beauty, goodness, or truth, is life; to another, material possessions, achievements, social position, or sense delights. In other words, each projects his own traits and objectifies them as characteristics of the world order.

From the mental-hygiene point of view, the philosophy of life, theoretical, emotional, and practical, which one adopts and adheres to more or less continuously and consistently, is of tremendous significance in the development of a unified, dynamic personality. Early successes or failures, and emotional experiences often determine one's philosophy of life.

It is not the special business of mental hygiene to prescribe beliefs, but to study each individual with a view to seeing whether his philosophy of life and his religion are promoting consistency of behavior and unity of personality, or whether they are leading him into inconsistencies or conflicts between

ideals and impulses. A philosophy or religion that helps an individual to preserve his mental health is a good one for him whatever its effects on others.

In seeking to improve mental health attempts may be made either to change reactions and develop consistent habits, to modify ideals, or to change both so that conflicts will decrease and integration of personality be promoted. Whatever method is used, it can be successful only in proportion as it is accepted and worked out by the individual himself rather than imposed from without by persuasion or force. An individual may have his attitudes changed by modifying his environment, setting before him examples, by exciting new interest, or by changing his job or his responsibilities.

The philosophy of life that is most favorable to mental health is one which gives strong faith that the future in this life and perhaps in the next, will be in accordance with one's desires or ideals. This is usually associated with the belief that one's past, present, and future actions are in some way related to the ultimate outcome.

Another less stimulating philosophy is a firm belief that what is to be, will be, either in accordance with natural laws, or by the decrees of the gods, or God. This sort of philosophy or religion can be helpful from the mental-hygiene point of view only when there is an emotional attitude of resignation sufficient to do away with all fears. "Let the will of Allah be done."

Personal security is sometimes subordinated to the security of a larger self, the family, the church, the nation; or to a cause, the future of which is believed to be certain, whatever may happen to the individual.

II. THE WILL

The nature of the will. As previously indicated, the will in man is analogous to the operator of a machine. Like the operator, it pushes buttons and pulls levers that start or stop activities.

The operator cannot make the "machine" do anything it is not constructed and trained to do, but can bring its powers into action by pushing the right button at the right time. The cortex or surface of the brain is the chief operating board, and from it go impulses increasing some of the activities of the lower centers, and decreasing others. Conscious will acts chiefly by means of images which have become conditioned stimuli for exciting or inhibiting a series of conditioned movements, many of which may be performed automatically. Manual skills of every sort depend chiefly upon such habits.

There is no need to discuss here the problems of ultimate freedom of will. It is a fact that as a man passes from helpless infancy to maturity he becomes more self-directive. A personality is not typically human unless actions are determined partly from within by images of the future rather than by the stimuli coming from without at the moment. A healthy personality must not only be self-determining, at least in part, but must also manifest little inner conflict.

For our purposes, the figurative operator of the personality machine is not absolutely free in choosing results to be gained by pushing the proper buttons connected with the behavior mechanisms. Present environment, heredity, and previous experiences, and especially social practices and precepts, are all factors in determining the choices made. The mental hygienist is more concerned with the influences that make the operator more, rather than less, free from outer influences of the moment.

Development of voluntary control. The development of voluntary control begins in early infancy, and in general its progress is in accordance with the following description: Stimuli from without call forth some specific motor reactions, also the same stimuli and others from within the body cause different movements. The higher or cortical nerve cells of the brain are stimulated to activity and send impulses to the lower centers which have inhibiting or restraining effects on some activities,

and exciting effects upon others. Stimuli and responses of the lower centers usually take place in series or combinations: for example, the eyes are turned toward a bright object, the hands are moved uncertainly toward the object, touch it, and carry it to the mouth. In the repetitions of such acts, various sense and motor centers in the cortex are also made active in a certain order by the motions. These centers send inhibitory impulses to the lower centers, decreasing the diffuse movements and thus making the reaching for objects more accurate. The elements of such movements then serve more effectively as conditioned stimuli to others of the series. The two ends of the series are the bright object stimulating the eye, and the touch of the smooth object on the lips. These images registered in the cortex enforce the tendency to see and reach for any object near at hand. Voluntary motion develops in proportion as this cortical center becomes effective in directing the reaching for objects.

Putting the matter in conscious terms, the pleasant touch sensation is the object or purpose of the developing self in making the movements, and it inhibits all the activities not essential to the attainment of the end. The sight of some object initiates activity, and an image of the end result helps to direct the motions. Later, the image of an object in a certain place—as when a child tries to get an object from its usual place although it is not in sight—may initiate the movement of reaching for it. In such a case there is clear evidence of voluntary control by means of an image of the results to be gained. Successful voluntary effort means essentially that the image of a desired end takes the place of an outer stimulus, then is realized by means of movements.

In the beginning, nothing can be done voluntarily until it has first been done involuntarily, and then only when the cortex has had some part in limiting the diffuse motions. Later, certain specific activities represented in consciousness by the formation of images of past results may modify chance movements in such

a way that new combinations of movements bring the results imaged, as is the case in various sorts of learning.

Images are developed and made more definite and effective by means of associated gestures and especially by words. Words are thus intimately associated with conscious states on the one hand, and with the motor expressions used in gestures, speaking, reading, and writing, on the other.

The utterance of words in connection with voluntary efforts to do something helps beginners in doing it ("Right, Left" in marching;—"Under, Over" in weaving), sometimes almost as much as seeing the act performed by another. Special association centers of cortical activity are developed largely under the influence of the actions and words formerly made effective by successful efforts.

Just as the cortical development becomes efficient in limiting and directing voluntary effort, the will becomes an important factor in behavior. In other words, the cortical centers represent social conventions and individual purposes and ideals, and the person is no longer controlled wholly by external stimuli acting on the sense organs and exciting the lower centers. The will, by means of images, manipulates most of the centers of control.

The power of will is not most effective when it vigorously contracts muscles antagonistic to ones already in action, but when it uses some indirect means. One cannot voluntarily stop trembling or make the feeling of fear, anger, or fatigue become less, but he may do things over which he has acquired control that will diminish trembling and decrease anger or the agony of fear. The will is strong and free not because of force exerted, but in proportion as it is successful and consistent in button-pushing. It thus decreases unsatisfactory states or reactions, and increases satisfactory ones. On the other hand, personality disorders and inefficiency are the result of attempting to control directly undesired activities, such as irritation, instead of using indirect means of control, such as changing environment or em-

phasizing images and activities that may decrease the irritating stimuli.

A well integrated individual can will with all the mechanism perfected by his past experience; on the other hand, one who has acted diversely and inconsistently has little strength or freedom of will because the mechanisms excited to activity are imperfect or contradictory in their effects on behavior. The well integrated individual is free to do whatever is consistent with his past life and is powerful in doing what he consistently desires to do. The poorly integrated individual has not this power because his wishes and developed abilities, instead of supporting, hinder each other. A consistent, honest man need make no effort to be honest in any of the ways in which he has practised honesty.

The original bases of will power are unconscious reaction tendencies. The will learns to call these into action and to operate them by means of appropriate images. Practice of any kind, resulting in unconscious habits, increases the number of unconscious tendencies that can be manipulated by the will. This makes it possible to do more freely and easily additional things consistent with the tendencies developed. A well integrated individual spontaneously, and in part unconsciously, acts out his nature as developed and modified by social influences and by experiences.

The chief function of conscious will is to choose future ends and use the most effective ways of realizing them. It is only when the future chosen is not consistent with past choices, or the means are contrary to those previously practised, that conflicts occur and sometimes must be settled by voluntary effort. When a criminal is changing to a saint as in the case of Jean Valjean, or the reverse, there may be a severe conflict—at the time and perhaps later—in keeping to the course planned. Such conflicts, however, are rarely so long as in the instances described by Victor Hugo. Usually the decision is made with comparative ease by a combined process of reasoning and rationaliz-

ing regarding the particular act to be performed without full consciousness of the change that is taking place in the self.

In minor matters the decision is often easily made, but if automatic habits—such as the use of an expletive or putting an object in a certain place—are involved, there are many slips and antagonisms. Mere force of will cannot control such habits because one acts in the conditioned way before will can prevent the movement. The cue is some objective condition, some previous motion, or some purpose to be realized, and the act in response to such a cue is performed automatically. To change the habit, one must plan a change in outward conditions, in associated acts, or must develop conscious cues that will make one think in time to prevent the habitual act. This is only another evidence of the fact that the will usually operates by manipulating elements, rather than by brute force in which certain muscle groups are made to overcome the efforts of others.

When desires are opposed to each other, the act of choosing involves a conflict between images of the advantages of acting in accordance with one or the other desire. Previous habits of acting for the present or for a distant future often have more influence on the decision than the comparative strength of the desires.

The vocations chosen, and especially the avocational activities, are generally indicative of what life purposes are being most emphasized by individuals. Some sacrifice the pleasures of the senses to the pleasures of athletic competition or to the construction of material things; others sacrifice all of these to the pleasures of intellectual activity in solving puzzles, making discoveries, or in philosophical thinking. For some, everything must be subordinated to contemplation or to producing objects of esthetic satisfaction; while to many, love, power, or religion are potent in every adjustment made.

One's dominating purposes determine the selection of the environing situations to which one chooses to react, and of the adjustments to secure immediate or remote ends. The develop-

ment of inner control is possible only by some suppression and subordination of present to future.

The art of living most comfortably and fully is to make the adjustments that will bring fewest renunciations and least repression, while adapting acts to present desires and future attainments.

Persistent and consistent voluntary effort is necessary if any of the more prominent of life purposes are to be gained. Many people waste time regretting that they cannot achieve successes in some vocation or some avocational activity or amusement, whereas others change from one purpose to another so frequently that none of them can be realized. The only way in which a vigorous, well integrated personality can be developed is by consistent choices of ends to be gained, and persistent use of means that lead to them.

Voluntary harmonization of behavior. Practices favorable to harmonization, having been developed by environment and by training and teaching, may be continued and utilized in the more conscious control of one's affairs. Harmony is favored if this practice is begun in early childhood and increased until, in adult life, nothing in environment or personal authority will completely control action in new situations but one's own choices and judgments.

To act contrary to one's own desires and judgments is to produce disharmony within the personality. In making decisions one must, of course, give some weight to the opinions of others and to whatever scientific knowledge is obtainable; he must take into account actual situations and the results of acting or not acting, instead of thinking only of what would be desirable if conditions were different. Regrets and conflicts are sure to result from acting in accordance with one set of wishes while desiring another, or by adopting one means when another is judged to be better. To abandon one's ideals in religion, morals, art, or business in response to objective difficulties, public author-

ity, or personal appeal, is to begin the process of weakening the individual personality instead of continuing the healthful process of strengthening it. One who, contrary to his own desires and judgments, accepts the guidance of others initiates a continuous conflict between what he does and what he desires to do, or he begins the process of return to the infantile state of allowing others to control his life.

In the first case, conduct often becomes inconsistent because the person sometimes acts in accordance with his own aims and ideas, and sometimes as he is forced or influenced to act by others. In the second case, he avoids responsibility and lets circumstances or other persons control his actions.

Often there is no sharp line to be drawn between those who are harmonizing and strengthening their personalities and those who are disintegrating and weakening theirs. Frequently both processes are going on within the individual at the same time. If he is acting according to his own wishes and judgment in what, to him, are the important things in life, and leaving the direction of what he regards as minor problems to circumstances and to others, he is, on the whole, maintaining his mental health.

Another individual may be developing and integrating his abilities in some special vocation or avocation while neglecting his social desires, his esthetic tastes, his broader intellectual development, or his political, moral, or religious ideals. The more consciously he is doing this, the more surely is he narrowing his personality. Yet a well integrated person, though narrow, is more healthful than one consciously at war within himself.

When the individual's desires and methods clash with those of society, only a very strong personality can succeed in resisting social influence and by force or persuasion induce others to join him in ignoring or changing well established conventions. Weaker individuals are crippled and destroyed, or overcome and acknowledge defeat, or become "cranky" in their behavior even though some of their ideals may be approved by some members

of their own generation and by many members of subsequent generations.

Criminals as well as reformers are liable to develop self-conflicts by their opposition to society's laws, but the stronger ones may remain vigorous and pretty well integrated personalities with some ideals to which they remain true: for example, criminals are often loyal to companions.

Harmonizing conscious states. Consciousness in many of its phases is a resultant of bodily conditions, sensory stimulations, and muscular reactions, but many of its emotional and intellectual states are, so far as is observable, partly independent of the physical life with which there is continual interaction.¹

The pleasures of beauty, although often based on useful, sense, motor, and glandular experiences, go far beyond them in the conscious satisfactions given. The pleasures of esthetic and social experiences, and of intellectual activities—of problem-solving, and finding consistent and logical relations—also play a large part in the mind experience of man. The contemplation of social, moral, and religious ideals also gives pleasures that are only slightly influenced by physiological activities.

The general truth to be recognized as basal is that the mental person strives to attain conscious satisfactions just as the physiological organism strives to preserve physiological conditions favorable to survival. The satisfactions sought are both present and future, and include all with which the self is identified. The

¹ There is reason to believe that all conscious states are accompanied by neural processes, but so little is known about the physiological activities of brain cells that often we are justified in speaking of conscious states and their relationship to each other without making any reference to the neural activities. In other instances, such physiological activities as changes in breathing, pulse rate, muscular tensions, and the like, which may be observed by many persons, are more significant than introspective observations. It is convenient to speak of subjective and objective events as if they were causally related in the order observed: for example, stimuli as causes of sensations, and ideas as causes of other ideas or of movements made. The author has no desire to express or imply an opinion regarding absolute causes, or to endorse any philosophical theory such as monism, dualism, or interactionism.

factors involved are so numerous, the relations of present and future so complex, and the descriptive terms used so uncertain in meaning to different persons, that it is not easy to agree on what is really the chief source of satisfaction in any given instance of voluntary choice.

Consciousness in general prolongs and intensifies pleasurable states by spontaneous attention, and shortens and turns away from painful ones. Experience and experiment support this in perceptive, reproductive, imaginative, and thought processes of most healthy persons. To show the opposite tendency in a marked degree is a generally accepted sign of a state of poor mental health. In some instances, the preference for pain is not a sign of general mental ill health, but of a special sex, moral, or religious conditioning. Many sadists and masochists seek pain of self or others as the necessary means of sex satisfaction. Religious ascetics torture themselves to advance their spiritual natures. Persons who have violated some social or moral code often seek to be punished as a means of regaining their own peace of mind. Many people starve and endure hardships as a matter of habit because of early representations of future advantages to be gained. Others sacrifice their individual pleasure for the satisfaction of contributing to the pleasure of others, or for the approval of others, and may continue to do so long after the advantages of such action have disappeared.

Certainly human beings are never so wise and self-controlled that they *always* act so that they secure the greatest possible amount of happiness, yet in health all men avoid pain and seek that which is consciously satisfying. That which satisfies may be an objective achievement rather than a pleasurable self-emotion, and it is in this way that the most enduring happiness is indirectly found.

Desire for pleasurable feeling leads us to overestimate our admirable points, exaggerate what we have done that is approved, and excuse and minimize non-approved actions, deceiv-

ing ourselves more than we deceive others. We may even flee from reality and live in a world of imagination that is consciously much more satisfying than our real world. However inconsistent a man may seem to others, he is likely, by ignoring actualities and picturing imaginary situations, to harmonize his own mental states.

Promptness in deciding and in acting is an important factor in producing harmony within the personality. Decisions are prompt, however long delayed, if they are made as soon as all the facts that seem to be essential have been considered. After they are all known, to continue to contemplate one objective and then the other, or one means and its alternative, with pictures of probable results in each case, is to foster conflicting tendencies within the personality. Harmony of personality cannot be maintained if one allows himself continually to increase the length of time and the number of things concerning which he persistently balances one course of action against another, when there is no prospect of getting more significant facts or considerations. To withhold decision where immediate action is not necessary and more facts may be expected, in the meantime dropping the problem, is not destructive of harmony but may favor it. But prolonged weighing of pros and cons after the time for deciding has come is inefficient and inexcusable.

The quick decision, after all the data is in, is likely to be as wise as the much-delayed one. Quick decision saves time, meets situations before they have changed, even if it does not as accurately weigh results and put every little fact into the balance. The chief advantage of deciding and beginning to act accordingly is that it promotes harmony, whereas vibrating between courses of action promotes disharmony.

Adherence to decisions, and acting in accordance with them, is essential. All the advantages of quick decisions are lost if they are not acted upon, or are reconsidered with no new data, or deplored if they do not turn out well. Such procedures are inef-

ficient and often quite destructive of a healthy mind and a well integrated personality. Where the decision is one of importance and turns out disastrously—as when one invests and loses all, breaks an engagement and always regrets it, meets with an accident that might have been avoided, or chooses the wrong doctor and a loved one dies—a useless life, largely spent in regrets for what might have been, often follows.

Comparatively few people stop the conflict within their own minds by saying, “I made the best decision I could in view of all the available facts,” or “It was my mistake,” then cease to lament what has been lost while devoting every energy to more than making up for the losses or errors by future achievements.

One who by accident or in a fit of passion has caused a friend or relative to be crippled for life or to die may seem to recover as he devotes himself to achieving objective successes. Yet he may be more or less consciously brooding over his error to the serious injury of his mental health. It is better to acknowledge and accept the fact that his personality is not without flaw than uselessly to bewail the unfortunate act.

Unwise treatment of mistakes and faults of children by conscientious parents or teachers who think it their duty to impress the child in such a way that he will *never* do the thing again is often responsible for an unhealthy attitude on the part of such children in later life. Instead of trying to excite their emotions regarding a wrong they have done, children should as quickly as possible be encouraged to do what they can to repair the damage or to make up for it. Nor should they be reproached for the past, but encouraged to continue their efforts to do the right thing next time. Such an attitude toward life situations, if continuously fostered, tends to insure mental health.

The habit of regretting decisions, even in little things, should not be encouraged, such as the buying of one article rather than another, ordering one item on the menu rather than the other, choosing one entertainment instead of one that is reported later

as much better, attempting one thing and giving it up soon to undertake another. All such practices waste time and prevent the integration of experiences.

Responsibility in personality development. If one is to become self-directive, it is necessary that practice in such self-direction should begin early, and become more and more prominent as maturity is reached. To exercise control successfully, the child must be permitted to get acquainted with the world in which he lives and learn how to get satisfying results from his adjustments.

As soon as he gains some control of his muscles, he begins to react to some phases of his environment more than to others and practises adjusting to them. He learns how to adjust to laws of gravity more quickly by himself than when his movements are directed by some one else, or he is prevented from experiencing the natural results of his own adjustments. The mother who boasts that her child has never fallen and bumped himself does not realize that she is seriously hampering his progress in learning to live in a world of inexorable laws to which he must learn to adjust.

The mother who shows anxiety whenever a child begins to climb and who stands ready to hold or to catch him, either makes him timid about climbing or leads him to be reckless in such activities. The wise mother arranges the child's environment so that he can climb without serious danger until he has learned all the arts of adjusting his efforts to the nature of objects and of gravity.

In a similar way he should have the opportunity of learning about hard and soft, breakable, sharp, hot and cold objects, so that he will not be seriously harmed by them while making them serve his purposes.

In reactions to persons and to conventions, a similar policy may successfully be used if these are maintained as consistently as nature adheres to her laws. In both physical and social reac-

tions there are situations in which the results of reacting in certain ways are satisfactory at one time, and not so at another time. When the environment cannot be made entirely favorable for the child to learn how to meet future situations with ultimate satisfactions, slight manifestations of approval or disapproval of acts of that kind, with instruction as to the results likely to follow them later, may be helpful. The child may thus learn not to break toys, spill food, disturb people, etc. Pets or companions who will resent rough treatment are important helps in learning to make social adjustments.

Adults should take care not to allow themselves to be abused or used in ways that human beings are likely to resent, without letting the child know the facts. Natural reactions to the treatment the child gives others, rather than the giving of abstract rules and their enforcement by formal punishment, helps the child to learn to be intelligently responsible for his own behavior.

Analyzing responsibility in human behavior, we find three essential phases in all voluntary acts.

1. There must be some end, chosen or approved by the person, to be gained in the immediate or distant future.
2. A free use of means in gaining that end.
3. The experiencing of the consequences of trying to get the required result by those means.

1. The end to be gained must be chosen or accepted by the person reacting, whether it be an objective end, such as getting or changing something in the environment, or effects on the self. A rich and suitable environment gives one a chance to choose freely what appeals to him, whereas a very restricted environment or a forced choice takes away from the freedom. It is important that ends, on the whole, considering both present and future, shall be such as to call forth vigorous effort instead of either indifference or resentment against authority or fate.

It is because parents, teachers, and others set before the child

ends that do not appeal to him, that they find it necessary to resort to all sorts of artificial means, rewards, punishments, marks, etc., to get him to act vigorously. Such motives often seem necessary, and are frequently justifiable, when the child has not worthwhile purposes of his own to gain; but the more the environment provides interests that of themselves appeal to the child, the less necessary will it be to use artificial stimuli.

2. Freedom on the part of the child in the use of means for gaining the ends chosen may, if no instruction is given, result in many useless attempts and in ultimate discouragement. The experiences of the race and of experts have developed methods of doing things which, if used, will save useless effort; but they should not be forced upon the child before he feels the need of them.

The teacher who attempts to direct the child in using the most effective methods may fail because the child has not yet developed the ability to use these means with success. By careful planning in going from the simple to the complex, or by giving help when its need is felt, the process of acquiring efficiency may be greatly hastened. Prolonged study of processes should be avoided, lest attention be diverted from the end being sought. When knowledge and skill are developed apart from their use, special training must be given in their practical application. Moreover the child is deprived of opportunities, during the period of memorizing and drilling, for experimenting and observing how ends are reached and for choosing the better means. His mind becomes like an attic, filled with all sorts of acquired knowledge and mechanical processes, instead of being continuously used as a workshop for doing things.

3. The third essential—experiencing the results of seeking certain ends by chosen means—is generally realized and proves enlightening in all the child's undirected play and project activities, and in his association with equals with whom he is learning to compete and coöperate. However, when the ends and the

means of attaining them are largely chosen by others, the child is likely to be concerned with the associated artificial results of his acts in the form of approval or disapproval. The real reason for accuracy in arithmetic, for example, is not realized by school children when they are given grades or made to do problems over again. It is, however, likely to be appreciated when they waste much time in computing interest because of some slight arithmetical error, or later when they lose money because of errors made in calculating costs.

In everyday conduct, attention may be diverted from the natural results by artificial rewards and punishments given for destroying property, soiling the floor or their clothes, or lack of order in putting things away. Not infrequently, also, they are saved from the natural consequences of such acts by the person who gives the reproof. If they are punished and made to repay or endure losses as well, they often resent the punishment and fail to give due significance to the losses as natural results of such acts, but regard them rather as additions to the punishment.

In developing responsible control of one's affairs, it is not only necessary that there be freedom in choosing ends, adapting means, and experiencing consequences, but that the relations between these be not too distant or too much obscured by other things; otherwise they will not add to the integrating experience of the person. In early life, the ends are soon obtained, the means simple and evident, and the consequences easily connected with the choice and reactions. As the personality develops, the ends naturally become more distant and complex, the means more complicated, and the adjustments more consistent.

One who has been allowed a large degree of responsibility in his affairs where successes are possible for him, increases his power to adjust means to ends by his experiences, and by studies of the successes of others. Failures do not then discourage him but invite to renewed effort. One thus trained is likely to spend

little time mourning failures or in making excuses. He is usually a "good sport" who, having decided to engage in work or play, does not complain or shirk because the effort involved is great or the results less than were expected.

CASE 1.—Some time ago I was a member of a house party staying at a summer cottage beside a lake. The dining-room had been built for a family of four, so when our party of seven gathered for meals it was necessary for two to get seated before the rest could sit down.

One day during a meal one of us dropped a piece of bread on the floor. She spoke to the girl sitting next her, telling her not to step on it. The rest of us saw her talking but of course did not know what was being said. We knew only that something was not as it should be. Here our imaginations began to work and each one reacted as she had been conditioned.

One, thinking that a snake had crawled in under the table, tried to stand up in her chair. I knew that a mouse was running about and drew up my feet, screaming loudly as I did so. The two who were seated first, in some unexplained way, got out of their chairs, ran out either door of the dining-room, met in the living-room in front of the fireplace and gesticulating wildly, kept saying to each other in highly pitched voices, "What is it? What is it?"

The two who had caused all the trouble looked at every one in astonishment, wondering what it was all about.

The laugh that followed the commotion was hearty enough to counteract any ill effects that might have come from the fright.

CASE 2.—Eight-year-old Bobbie is in the fourth grade, at the head of his class. His I.Q. is high; he is a regular boy and very popular with classmates and teachers. Being the youngest of a growing family of seven children he has received much attention from his parents and older brothers and sisters.

After being at home for two weeks with the grippe he did not want to return to school. His mother, a very intelligent and understanding woman, allowed him to stay at home an extra day. But when the same thing happened the next day, she was afraid he was not fully recovered from his sickness. Her doctor assured her that Bobbie was all right. She tried to reason with him, but he cried and begged her not to make him go. Almost in despair, she let him stay home again. The next day, realizing that his condition was getting

worse, she ordered him to school. Again he cried, but she took him by the hand and gently but firmly led him to school. At the school yard he refused to go any farther. Finally the teacher came out, and Bobbie greeted her pleasantly, but he would not go in with her. He said he did not know why he was afraid to go.

Apparently his mother, during his illness, had become his rock of security, for when she went in with him and said she would stay, he was willing to go. After a little while he became interested in the work going on and joined the other children in working at the board. After that there was no more trouble.

CASE 3.—Mrs. L—— began to be mentally overworked when she was fourteen and in high school. Shortly after her graduation, her father developed a severe case of angina pectoris, and she assumed more than her share of his care. She soon reached the stage where sleep was impossible, and imagined every noise, however slight, to be an agonized moan. This condition persisted for three years. Shortly after her father passed away, her mother died suddenly. This unfortunate combination of events has tended to warp her mind. To-day she is in an extremely unhealthy mental state. She never retires without double locking all doors and windows and inspecting the house from cellar to attic. She is obsessed by an inordinate fear of fire. Her fear of asphyxiation causes her to descend several times during the night to inspect the gas range or to open the drafts of the furnace. Knowing her horror of monoxide gas, the members of her family avoid parking their cars under her windows, as she fears she will be overcome by the deadly fumes if the engine should be left running. These are but a few of the tortures Mrs. L—— suffers.

CASE 4.—James was the only child of doting parents. They were hard-working people with very little education. His mother was sixteen years of age when James was born. The parents had great ambitions for him. A paternal uncle was a dentist who had done well at his profession, and was an inspiration to the parents. James must be a dentist.

James cherished other ambitions of a less professional nature. He was a dull, heavy boy. He never showed any criminal tendency, but was just lazy and indifferent. In the first place, he could not see well. All through the lower grades the teachers had urged the parents to have his eyes examined, but it was of no avail. Consequently he lost a great

deal of work each year. By the time he reached the ninth grade, his loss was irreparable. He was obliged to repeat the year, much to the chagrin of his parents. James, however, was undisturbed.

James was sent to high school. It was almost the end of the first year before it was discovered that James had never entered high school.

The parents did not give up. James was going to be a dentist. James rebelled, but it was of no avail. He was sent to a private school for five or six years, finally completing his course. Again he rebelled, but again they insisted.

He was finally sent to Baltimore for his professional training. Years passed and James was still a student. At last he succeeded in securing his diploma. He came home to take the state examination and failed. This was repeated at least three times. In the meantime he worked in a dental office in western New York. His attitude was now changed. Not becoming discouraged at his repeated failures, he finally opened an office in New York City. To-day he is a professional and a financial success.

CASE 5.—I know a young woman who is the only child of refined, well-to-do parents, and was an exceptionally bright child. Her mother and an unmarried aunt who lived with the family had been teachers. Consequently this child attended the public school only for a few very short periods of time, but was tutored at home. She was taught, and well taught, many more subjects than she would have taken in school, and had much musical education as well. But she was deprived of the society of children her own age and associated almost entirely with adults.

She did not attend public high school but was sent to a preparatory school for girls a few miles from home. Instead of living in the dormitory she lived in the home of the principal of the school. She graduated with honors, but was too young to enter Wellesley. She traveled with her mother for a year, and after her four years in Wellesley, from which she was graduated with honors, she traveled in Europe with her aunt for two years. She studied languages over there, and took courses in preparation for the foreign-relation or diplomatic service in Washington, after her return. To her disappointment, the positions were given to the young men of the classes, so she returned home.

On account of her excellent scholastic standing this girl has been offered several excellent positions, in these days when positions are so

scarce. As she receives each offer she works herself up to such an emotional state over the necessity of making a decision that she nearly has hysterics and is actually ill, having to be put to bed. She continues to worry and to weep for hours.

Her devoted family, individually and collectively, beseech her not to worry, but to refuse immediately and think no more about it. When she is finally persuaded, and the letter of refusal is written, she goes to sleep in an exhausted condition. The next day she is quite happy and relieved that her decision is over with.

At present she is acting as secretary for a public-welfare organization. In this capacity she is called upon many times a day to make decisions that concern other people, and the decisions are entirely satisfactory to all, and efficiency achieved without any attendant hysteria. It seems to be only when coming face to face with decisions that concern her own future, that she loses control of herself.

CASE 6.—Mary's mother became overanxious that her child should learn to read before entering school. She began by urging and pleading with Mary to learn to read and, when these efforts failed, insisted that she would achieve her purpose. At first Mary was bored, but at length became obstinate and no incentive was sufficient to induce her to read. At last she conceived the idea that she could never learn to read because of inability. Mental tests proved that she was capable of learning, but in school she was passed from one group to another with the label of being just dumb and unable to learn to read. At home the mother was very much ashamed of Mary and never ceased to nag her and to insist that she learn to read. After her first year in school, Mary's case was referred to the principal. He in turn took the case to the local psychiatrist. A diagnosis brought to light Mary's home environment. When the case was explained to Mary's mother, she agreed to coöperate with a plan for remedial treatment. A change in the mother's attitude and an indifference toward reading in the home finally produced a remarkable change in Mary, who proceeded to read without unusual difficulty.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. Describe experiences of your own when you have felt insecure, although not definitely frightened. Do certain situations always produce that feeling? Can you analyze the cause and discover possible remedies?

2. In high schools is there much insecurity felt by pupils because of (*a*) things, (*b*) people, (*c*) scholastic standing?

3. What means should be taken to make young people more secure? Which is more important, to furnish outer security, or to build up inner assurance? How are the two related?

4. Give instances of insecurity caused by disappointment produced by the conduct of some friend or some one in authority.

5. Give examples of security lost or gained by changes in religious beliefs or practices.

6. What philosophy of life or life attitude has helped to give you a feeling of security?

7. At what stages of acquiring skill in playing tennis, knitting, driving a motor, or other manual operation do images of parts of the body being used help, and at what stage images of results to be gained?

8. How do you make yourself study or listen to a lecture?

9. How do you make yourself become less angry?

10. Is it usually easy or difficult for you to decide upon things to do, and to begin acting? Why?

11. Try breaking some simple habit with a view to discovering the means that must be used in order that the will may do what has been resolved upon.

12. Which gives you most difficulty (*a*) deciding what future ends to attain, (*b*) deciding on means to be used, or (*c*) making the will effective in doing things? Analyze the difficulties in each case.

13. Are you wasting time and energy in regrets of any sort? What will help you to stop doing so?

14. Give examples of acting contrary to your own wishes because of some other person's influence, and what advantages or disadvantages resulted to you.

15. Have you ever made a poor choice and yet gained more than you lost by the experience? Illustrate.

16. Discuss the comparative advantages in personality development of striving for objective successes, and of doing what brings subjective satisfactions, and of harmonizing the two kinds of successes.

17. Are more people favorably or unfavorably affected by seeking to experience pain or pleasure, or by trying to become indifferent to either while achieving ends set before them?

18. Is either of these attitudes too prominent in your own case?

19. From the standpoint of mental health, are the moral and reli-

gious exhortations to self-sacrifice usually of advantage or disadvantage to persons practising them?

20. Give descriptions of two contrasting individuals, one very prompt in deciding, and the other very slow.

21. Describe persons who often change or regret decisions, and others who almost never do so.

22. Is it wiser to impress children frequently that they have made a wrong decision, or to help them to make a better one next time?

23. Observe several children in the home and in the school to discover how much of their behavior is "responsible" in the full sense of the word, and in what ways adults do not permit responsibility of the child for his own behavior. What are the effects upon the children?

24. Discuss methods of producing good sports in all phases of living.

25. Does Case 1 give ground for believing that ideas are more prolific sources of fears than outside things in the case of human beings?

26. Discuss critically the explanation and treatment of Case 2.

27. Could the person in Case 3 overcome her difficulties by having other persons go with her and see that the door is locked, etc., and thus gain confidence so that later she will not question the fact?

28. In Case 4 do you think the mother's choice of vocation and her insistence upon what her son should do was justified by the results? Do you attach any importance to the fact that the results for the time and effort expended were meager until after he had *worked* in a dental office? Why?

29. In Case 5 do you attach most importance to parental direction instead of personal responsibility, or to the fact that she had little association with those of her own age for most of her early life?

30. Comment on Case 6.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE UNCONSCIOUS, THE ABNORMAL, AND FREUDIANISM

Recognition of the unconscious. A half century ago when psychology was generally defined as the "science of the mind" and experimental work had just begun, little account was taken of unconscious activities. There was a general belief, however, that body activities needed to be kept under control by the mind. Studies of instincts, and of habits of animals and men, brought out the fact that many acts are largely unconscious, and proved that such natural and acquired tendencies are of great significance in conduct, although meagerly represented in conscious volitions.

Attempts to explain the behavior of animals and of young children by means of conscious states similar to those of adult human beings led to all sorts of disputes in which there was no possibility of determining the real facts as to what kind of mental states were actually involved. Laboratory experiments in psychology directed attention, not merely to conscious states, but to various objective elements of the experimental situations. Later careful observations and measurements of conditions and of objective reactions were made. In this objective field disputes as to facts could be settled by greater care and accuracy in arranging experiments and in making and recording measurements. Reports of subjective states of consciousness were found to differ greatly and were often contradicted by the known objective facts. Countless illusions of position, direction, length, color, sound, pressure, etc., were discovered and studied. The result was that most of them could be accounted for by some element in the objective situation or by some unrecognized habit

or conditioning previously developed in the individual. These discoveries produced increasing appreciation of the importance of the determinable objective facts as compared with the less reliable facts obtained by introspection.

This tendency to emphasize objective facts increased, and some psychologists, notably Watson, decided to ignore all introspections as of no value, and to devote all their efforts to studying the elements of situations, the reactions made, and the effects of the reactions upon later behavior.

In the meantime, physiologists had been busy studying structure and physiological processes and observing what conscious states were produced by, or varied with, the several physiological structures and activities. Their studies showed that special sense and motor activities were absolutely dependent upon certain neuromuscular and neuroglandular mechanisms being intact and functioning. It was also noted that chemical activities produced by drugs or by abnormal accumulations in the body might cause complete unconsciousness; while in other instances consciousness could be greatly intensified by chemical means. Later it was found that the secretions of various glands greatly modified physiological and mental processes. This led to the formation of various physical and chemical theories of conscious processes; but up to the present time the exact anatomical and chemical concomitants of conscious activities are usually less accurately known than the conscious states themselves.

The result of all these researches and discussions is that while conscious states are of interest and of practical significance to every one, in scientific circles they are receiving less attention than the objective elements of situations and the exact behavior reactions to them. For example, the most fruitful studies of reading processes have been made by photographing eye movements, rather than by introspective observations of mental states while reading.

Freudian terminology. In the midst of these changes, Freud gave a new turn to affairs by extending subjective terms and concepts into the realm of unconscious processes. He supposes not only a complex of conscious activities called *mind* but also designates the unconscious complex of processes as a *sub-conscious mind*. This sub-conscious mind is supposed to will certain ends which are often thwarted by a more or less conscious *censor*. The unconscious mind in various specified ways is trying to make certain ideas enter the conscious mind and to bring about behavior desired by the unconscious mind.

This is a very interesting and dramatic way of representing the unconscious processes, and has appealed to the masses much more effectively than to scientists, especially those who prefer to use objective terms in discussing human behavior. The *sub-conscious mind* is a convenient term, but its free use constitutes a distinct danger to the acquisition of reliable knowledge of human nature and behavior.

The acceptance of Freud's terminology, theories, and conclusions has been greatly facilitated by the fact that in describing the activities of the supposed sub-conscious mind, he has hit upon a great many truths as to the way in which behavior is determined by the interrelations between conscious and unconscious processes, and by past experiences, whether remembered or not.

On the other hand, the positing of an unconscious mind with desires and ideas after the analogy of the conscious states introduces us to a more uncertain field than that formerly studied by students of the conscious mind. The supposed facts are not subject even to conscious introspections, which as already indicated, are less exact than objective observation and measurement. This makes it easy to indulge the imagination in picturing what is going on in the sub-conscious mind with no means of knowing what the facts are. Personifying unconscious pro-

cesses thus has the advantage of adding an interest to psychology similar to the personification of natural phenomena by poets, but it does not make for accuracy.

Up to the present time also, the theories of the unconscious mind have been formulated from data obtained in the study of abnormal personalities, and are chiefly supported by their introspections and their behavior. These reports, obtained by psychoanalysis, are also generally influenced by the suggestions of the analyst. Because they are often memories of long past experiences which cannot be checked in any way, they are much less reliable than the facts of ordinary introspective psychology, especially when the latter is carried on under laboratory conditions.

Conflict theories. The sudden and the spectacular always attracts attention before any notice is taken of the constant and gradual changes taking place in the world—the earthquakes and floods and storms, rather than the constant processes of evaporation, condensation, and erosion; births and deaths, rather than growth and development. The fights for existence in all nature, the struggles of species, individuals, tribes, and nations, and the competitions in which each tries to profit at the expense of the other, were noted and made the basis of the earlier theories of the nature of human society and of economics and morals. It is not strange, therefore, that Freud, who devoted much time to the study of abnormal individuals showing such striking variations from the usual in behavior, should have conceived of the complex of activities constituting a personality as a battleground whereon a multiplicity of purposes and efforts are in continual conflict. The conflicts of any stage of development produce reaction from excesses in one direction to excesses in another, and for new and worse conflicts in later stages of development. Like the earlier theories of evolution, Freud's philosophy of life is based on the idea of conflict.

Present-day physicists develop their science, not on the facts

of occasional catastrophes of nature, but upon those gained from the exact observations and measurements of the silent forces of nature that are continually acting. Biologists are discovering that the struggle for existence among living things is a minor phase of living compared with the phenomenon of dependence of each species upon the existence and help of other species. Without lichens and bacteria, nothing would grow; most plants and animals are able to survive because of the existence of others; while man is continually learning to use most living things while fighting only a few.

In the old theories of economy men competed, and what one gained the other was supposed to lose. The facts of life continually demonstrate that such philosophy is based on the exceptional and temporary, rather than the usual and permanent. In producing the necessities of life coöperation increases, while conflicts decrease the efficiency of the efforts. A seller can prosper continually only as his customers prosper, and customers prosper only when producers are prosperous enough to be efficient. This holds for trade between nations as well as between individuals, and in the relation of industries to each other. Coöperation rather than conflict is the dominant characteristic of all intelligent human behavior.

The old assumption that the individual was continually at war with society, and within himself between his selfish and his altruistic impulses and purposes, is not only seemingly accepted by Freudians, but an infinite number of unconscious conflicts is assumed to be the usual type of functioning. This view is vividly presented by Menninger.¹

In studying the numerous facts of conflicts in the minds of abnormal persons, it is not strange that Freud and other psychiatrists should have founded their theories on such facts. Mental hygienists have been made to notice by contrast many unobtrusive facts of mental functioning in normal individuals, and

¹ Karl Menninger, *The Human Mind*, p. 268.

thus have been stimulated by the teaching of Freud and others. On the other hand, they have been diverted somewhat from founding their science on the more usual phenomena presented in the functioning of normal minds. These will be given more consideration in the next chapter.

Sexuality. By the term *libido*, or wish, Freudians express much the same idea as is indicated by the preservative tendency which is observable in all living organisms. Functions, growth, and behavior are all carried on in such a way as to continue the existence of the individual, the species, the group, and the complex states known as the conscious personality and the sub-conscious personality. According to Freud, the dominating wish, libido, or purpose, of human organisms is sexual in the broad sense of the word. Satisfaction in the warm pressure of uterine walls on the fetus is a sex feeling, and a longing to return to that condition continues after birth. The satisfying contacts of being held, and of nursing, are also sexual.

This, of course, gives a much broader meaning to the word than is usually accepted. This fact must be recognized in criticizing Freud's writings, especially when he is treating of children. Even after making such allowances, there can be no question, however, that he represents sex in the ordinary meaning of the word as playing a more important part in personality life than any other writer had ever claimed. His boldness in asserting its importance and his reports of case studies brought his doctrine into the limelight. The most valuable of the truths he set forth—that of the extensive disorders produced by repressions—is most effectively supported by examples of sex repressions, because such repressions are very common, they are secret, and are very frequently associated with fear. Adding to this the fact that nearly all of his studies are based upon individuals who were abnormal and poorly adjusted sexually, it is not strange that he seems to be justified in his representations of sex as the dominating factor in all phases of living.

On the other hand, when one centers his attention on fear in all its forms as the significant factor in personality disorders, he finds, as Sidis found, that most of them can be traced back to early fear experiences; while Adler finds thwarted self-realization most significant. The argument is made to appear strong for one or the other of these three views by bringing large numbers of facts under one or the other terminology.

Some light is thrown on the matter by tests of the relative strength of individualistic drives in the forms of hunger and pain, and of sex and pain. There seems to be little difference in the amount of pain in the form of electric shocks that rats and other animals will endure in order to get to a mate or to food when the urge to either the one or the other impulse is, as nearly as can be judged, at the maximum of intensity. Prolonged starvation, however, diminishes sex desire in animals and in men more than sex abstinence and isolation diminishes appetite for food.

Looking at the problem in a broad way, there is truth in the saying that nature cares nothing for the individual, but only that the species may survive. This may be construed to mean that the urges favorable to sex activity and species survival must needs be stronger than the urge to individual survival. On the other hand, the urge for the individual to take food and to avoid danger must be present in the individual continually or at frequent intervals, or none would survive to continue the species even in the most favorable surroundings. Because each individual acts most of the time so as to preserve self, it is possible for the species to continue even though countless individuals are killed off by an unfavorable environment. The species of most animals, however, is perpetuated by means of intermittent sex activity.

In the lower forms of animal life, especially in many species of insects, a considerable portion of their life behavior is devoted to producing offspring and preparing for their safety.

Among the higher animals, including man, activities preservative of self occupy most of the time except at intervals when they are partly or wholly subordinated to the activities of producing and caring for young.

Physiological functioning of man is in the interest of the individual, and sex activity is not essential to life although closely related to its vigorous functioning. To the conscious personality sex activity is more a matter of self-realization than of species preservation. If, however, we count all social reactions as being sexual in the broader meaning of the word, then it is not easy to determine whether, in general, conscious purposes are most concerned with what happens to others or with results to self. In many instances the welfare of self and of others is partly identified. Comparatively few persons are more concerned with the welfare of others than with that of self. The facts, therefore, do not indicate that, either consciously or unconsciously, the urges of most persons are in the direction of realizing sex rather than self ends, even when the former includes the social aspect.

However, the sex urge has more to do with the development of purposes in which social and individual satisfactions are identified. Something of this mutuality is experienced in social contacts with others when all are enjoying food, beauty, or play; but never so completely and definitely as in the mutually enjoyable sex embrace. It is noteworthy that only after sex maturity has been reached do persons develop the broader and more intense social attitudes. The importance of sex in personality development and in the development of group life must be accepted when all the facts are considered. The evidence offered by Freudians that sex is the *dominant* urge from the beginning of life in the womb until old age is, however, supported chiefly by theories based upon meager non-typical facts assumed, or viewed from one angle only.

Special Freudian theories. *The birth trauma.* The prominence of sex in the broader and narrower meanings of the

word in Freudian psychology may be judged in part by considering the birth trauma and the Œdipus complex. The comfort and security of the infant in the womb is considered sexual, and after the shock of birth the continual desire to return to this blissful condition is partly satisfied by the mother's cuddling and feeding. Body comforts are closely associated with success in individual survival. Such comforts, having been obtained by contacts, there may well be a desire to continue to secure them. It is a choice of words whether contacts with the mother may be termed sexual or individual.

In early infancy, as previously pointed out, the child wishes, and others give him satisfaction. It is not long, however, before he begins to learn to adapt means to ends in order to obtain individual satisfactions without the help of others. However, people are the most important portion of the environment of the child, and for him many satisfactions are possible and others more complete when companions have a part in their attainment and enjoyment. Yet on any reasonable interpretation of the facts of behavior, the trend is toward realizing individual ends by adaptation of means rather than to realize sex, social, or species ends by contacts with others.

According to Freudian theory the experiences of birth produce wounds from which the personality never recovers. Facts indicate that *exceptional* difficulties of birth *do* sometimes give rise to personality disorders, especially feeble-mindedness. Therefore psychiatrists, when they treat a case, deem it worth while to inquire whether or not birth was normal.

It must be admitted that at birth the change in environment and mode of living is the greatest change an individual ever experiences. Nevertheless, considering nature's usual way of working, a universal experience of all individuals, occurring in the usual way, would not be expected to influence profoundly all subsequent individual development merely because of its suddenness. A study of the infant immediately after he is ushered into the world shows surprisingly little evidence of shock. He

remains rather inactive, sleeps most of the time, and makes few definite reactions to his environment. If properly cared for, there is no evidence in his behavior or in his physiological growth and development to indicate that he has experienced a severe shock that, consciously or unconsciously, he will always remember. This consideration is made still stronger when we note the fact that premature birth does not greatly affect the kind and amount of physiological development and of behavior reactions. A seven-months child, after four months, is in much the same condition as a nine-months child after two months of life in the new environment.

The Œdipus complex, which Freudians assume to be inevitable and universal, has some basis in fact. Put in the crudest form, it is that every son wants to kill his father and marry his mother, and every daughter wants to kill her mother and marry her father. This theory, less baldly stated, affirms that sons are frequently jealous of fathers, and daughters of mothers; yet it is worth while to note that fathers are not infrequently jealous of sons, and mothers of daughters. Sometimes a parent is jealous of children regardless of sex, and siblings of each other, regardless of sex. However, there may be no way of deciding whether jealousy of all kinds is more individualistic than sexual, although it has generally been regarded as individualistic. It is not only displayed toward persons of a different or of the same sex, but also is manifested toward objects or pursuits that absorb the attentions desired for self: for example, the "golf widow" hates the game. However this may be decided, it is interesting to know that in tribes where the mother's brother is in authority over her children, he, rather than the children's father, is an object of enmity; and that in tribes where the clan is more prominent than the family there are no evidences of an Œdipus complex.

Notwithstanding the doubt that extreme Œdipus theories

are expressive of universal truths, some truths important in personality development have been brought to light by it. In most groups in our civilization the mother for boys, and the father for girls, is best known and most influential in the child's formation of concepts of the opposite sex, although siblings of the opposite sex play a considerable part. If the parent of the opposite sex is objectionable, some antagonism often develops toward others of that sex, which frequently interferes with successful mating. If, on the other hand, the parent of the opposite sex is greatly loved, the mate selected is very likely to have definite resemblances to that parent.

When this attachment of father and daughter and of mother and son is *very* close and prolonged, the "father's daughter" and the "mother's son" frequently fail to mate. If they do, the marriage often proves unsatisfactory. An overfond mother becomes the hated mother-in-law to the mates of their children, and a child who has remained in the childish relation to a parent, especially of the opposite sex, finds it hardest to break away from old habits and attitudes and to form those better suited to conjugal life.

Companionship with others of his own sex helps the child to break the child-parent relationship and to identify self with the appropriate sex group. The realization of sex differences tends to make the opposite sex more interesting, but the evidence in favor of the Freudian theory that every one must pass through a homosexual stage, before becoming heterosexual, is not convincing. Homosexuality in its extreme form is prominent in most persons only as a substitute or a conditioned activity. Homosexual practices in animals and in men are unusual, but become common when there is prolonged and exclusive association with the same sex only.

The *censor* is a convenient term used by Freud to represent and personify all social influences that tend to inhibit the public

performance of acts that may be disapproved by others, or condemned by law, custom, or religion. It has a broader meaning than the moral term *conscience* but is conceived as being active in much the same way. In his later writings, Freud recognizes three components of the self or mind: (1) the *id*, its instinctive tendencies; (2) the *ego*, developed by experience; and (3) the *super ego*, the product of social conventions, which acts as a *censor*.

The more frequently the bodily and mental urges come into conflict with authority and conventions, and the more active the censor, the more persistent and the more crafty do the conscious and the sub-conscious minds become in disguising motives and in "rationalizing" behavior. They sometimes substitute socially approved acts for those suppressed by the censor, thus relieving tension by *sublimation*. When repressions are too great or too prolonged, outbreaks of rebellion against the censor may occur. One needs to guard against the implication involved in personifying the censor and in supposing an unconscious mind proceeding toward conscious ends.

Since Freudians have given the most study to disordered personalities, it is natural that they should overemphasize conflicts. The usual person has successfully harmonized internal purposes and adjusted his behavior to reasonable conventions of society. He is enjoying his bodily and mental powers in eating, sleeping, exercising, and social activities without disturbances. The Freudians have, however, done a valuable service in revealing conflicts as frequent causes of conduct otherwise unexplainable.

Conditioning is an important factor in producing conflicts. The psychiatrist begins to act after the disorder has been well developed. He seeks to find the conditioning experience that produced the disorder and to recondition the individual in such a way as to make it disappear. The mental hygienist seeks to keep any permanent disorder from developing by having as

many of the conditions favorable as possible to harmony, and by immediate reconditioning when conflicts first occur.

Psychoanalysis is the chief means of reconditioning used by Freudians. Starting with dreams or with reveries induced by suggestive words, psychoanalysts seek to have the individual go back in the memory of his past life until he finds some incident that seems to have started him reacting in ways which led to his present unfortunate behavior and attitudes. It is expected that if he sees clearly how mistaken his original reaction was, the attitudes and habits that grew out of it will disappear. This expectation is sometimes fulfilled, but in many instances unless something more is done, the disorder does not disappear. Freudians, as well as many other people, attach much importance to conscious states, although their theories should make them recognize the frequently greater influence of unconscious, instinctive, and habitual trends.

A case reported by Münsterberg to a group of graduate students is enlightening in that it shows how conscious states may be used to effect a cure. A patient who had almost lost the ability to walk, especially on the street, was questioned regarding past experiences. His difficulty in walking began soon after a startling incident attended by a violent inhibitory act, in which he stopped just in time to avoid falling into a deep excavation. The cure was affected by having him reproduce as vividly as possible all the attendant circumstances of leaving his room, running into the street to catch an electric car, being suddenly confronted by the excavation, and of stopping by a great effort, *except*, instead of the effort being used in stopping, it was represented mentally as being used in a successful effort to jump over the opening. This act was repeated mentally several times, and soon the individual was cured. By appropriate mental action he was thus physically reconditioned. In many instances reconditioning is brought about only after considerable practice, both physical and mental, of a reaction contrary to the one producing the disorder.

Critics cannot deny that many cures have been effected by psychoanalysis, but they claim that analysts in directing the patient in recalling his past experiences influence what is recalled; also that the analysts in selecting the incident supposed to be responsible for the beginning of the disorder are influenced by their theories of the prominence of sex in human life. Interpretations are made in conformity with skilfully formulated Freudian theories that have never been sufficiently checked with the facts of the behavior of normal personalities.

Symbolism and dreams. The Freudians have always attached a great deal of importance to dreams which they claim are the result of wishes of the subconscious mind being represented in conscious states. Since the censor of the conscious mind, even when one is partly asleep, will not admit some sorts of ideas into consciousness, the wishes are presented in symbols and dramatic incidents. With Freudian theories as keys, psychoanalysts decode trivial and innocent dreams into clearly expressed desires for sex satisfactions, or for the removal of obstructions to desires usually originated by sex urges. Pockets, horses, and serpents are, Freudians claim, always sex symbols.

There is doubtless truth in the claim that ideas are not always what they seem to be, either in sleeping or waking moments, but the supposition that symbols have the same significance for all peoples is psychologically quite improbable. Some similarities might exist, just as there are enough common acts having the same parts or associates to permit strange tribes to communicate with each other by natural signs that indicate food, sleep, etc. Most symbols, however, are limited to the group of people having the same surroundings and activities and are not any more universal than the word *dog*, which is of significance only to English-speaking people. In the very nature of the case acts and objects suggest individual experiences or those common to a family or larger group, and few have the same meaning for all persons the world over. The attempt to prove by

anthropological evidence that symbols are universal is made by noting similarities while overlooking diversities, in about the same way that politicians use statistics to prove the advantages of a tariff or the disadvantages of prohibition.

Freudian interpretations of dreams are frequently accepted by the dreamer and others because *any* interpretation is more satisfactory than none. For this reason astrology also still has its devotees.

The wiser analysts do not insist upon the universality of symbols but seek to determine what individual experiences are symbolized by the dream drama, and to get the dreamer himself to discover the meaning of his own dreams. The individual, thus made aware of his own complexes and of the experiences responsible for their origin, is sometimes easily restored to normal. The success of psychoanalysts is more the result of the art used in stimulating the reminiscences of experiences to be evaluated and interpreted, than it is of applying a formula previously established by scientific investigation (as an engineer uses a formula in building a bridge).

In so far as the analyst calls attention to certain of the facts recalled and directly or indirectly suggests explanations in accordance with Freudian theories, those theories will seem to be confirmed as correct; whereas another psychologist, guiding the subject by different theories, might bring to the fore a different set of facts and lead to the acceptance of a different interpretation. Likewise the believer in fear experiences as the source of nearly all disorders may as easily get confirmation of his theories, and the same is true of the faith healer and of others. Almost any procedure that induces an individual to reminisce and to try to discover the connection between various incidents may bring about some readjustment and harmonizing of purposes and processes.

The person who is skilled in psychological practices, whether he be a representative of Freud, of Adler, of a school of medi-

cine, or of a church, is likely to prove himself a healer; but such healing is not adequate evidence of the soundness of the scientific or theological doctrines which the healer holds. A careful study of the methods used by analysts of various types—hypnotists, revivalists, faith healers, salesmen, advertisers, teachers, and leaders of all sorts—will show that there are some common principles recognized, or at least used, by all persons who seek to produce a change in personal behavior or character.

Psychiatrists are turning more and more to psychoanalytic methods because in a large proportion of cases cures seem to be effected by these methods. It should be remembered, however, that success may be secured not because of the theories of analysts but sometimes in spite of them, as has often been the case with other healers. The success of individual psychoanalysts is not directly proportional to the degree of knowledge and belief in Freudian theories, but depends upon many other factors.

The most promising line of scientific investigation is the study of the phenomena of conditioning and learning, and of reconditioning. The chief advantage of Freudian psychology is in calling attention to many hitherto unknown or unappreciated urges and the effects of their early conditioning, and to the many undesirable results of repressions upon the development of personalities. Freud, poet that he is, perceived and expressed in poetic rather than in scientific terms many important psychological truths. In doing so, he probably greatly exaggerated their importance and generality, and offered as evidence facts wholly inadequate in number and exactness to satisfy scientists.

There is much need for unprejudiced study of the facts of personality behavior and development in accordance with the most approved methods of psychological science. In the meantime, it is unwise to reject everything Freudian because parts of it seem fantastically absurd, or to accept it all as scientifically established. Freud's theories hold together and are supported by

some very convincing facts, but there will have to be much disentangling of truth from error before many of the general truths can be accurately formulated.

CASE 1.—A supervisor of drawing in the schools of a small city in which I taught held monthly meetings for all the grade teachers who taught under her. On one occasion she drew on the blackboard various motifs to be used in the drawings of designs. Pointing to one of them she remarked, "When your children see that motif, some of the older ones may exchange significant glances. My advice is to ignore them."

Several young teachers were present, among them one whom I knew to be particularly unsophisticated. Fully four years later, I sat beside her at another meeting, presided over by the superintendent. With the exception of this girl, all the teachers took notes. If she wrote a word, she erased it, rewrote, and perhaps erased it again. Before writing a word she paused, deliberated, and with evident effort completed it, surveyed it, and perhaps erased it again. At the end of the meeting she had fewer than fifty words of notes.

I knew this teacher to be working under great strain, and feared she might be on the verge of a collapse. I invited her to my room, and as tactfully as I could told her I had observed her difficulty in writing, offering to assist her.

To my surprise, she burst into tears, and plunged into a detailed account of her entanglements. They dated back four years to the unfortunate drawing lesson dealing with motifs for designs. "I immediately began to see the design everywhere I went," she stated. "Of course, I didn't actually see it, I suppose, but imagined I did. Then I immediately thought it was up to me to obliterate it. You see, I wouldn't want young innocent children to be shocked by it as I was. My duty was plain to me.

"Then I began to see it in wall-paper designs; my eyes would trace it in the geometric designs of an oilcloth, or in the figures on rugs and carpets, or in the carvings of our antique furniture. I haven't worn my favorite lace collar for months because of some fancied resemblance to the hated motif! I have refused to buy more than one dress pattern for the same reason.

"Lately I have had a horror of writing for I fear that with every stroke of my pen, I am making it. I don't accomplish much in taking notes, I admit. How can I when I must erase all the time?"

CASE 2.—Alicia, a fourth-grade girl, was chased while she was going home one evening after dark. She ran as fast as she could. When she reached her grandmother's house, she was completely out of breath and thoroughly frightened. She could not speak; she could only whisper as a result of this fright.

The following September she began to attend a rural school. She was frequently reprimanded because she could not speak loudly or clearly enough to be understood. Finally before the first term was finished her ability even to whisper had failed. She stopped attending school and remained at home several years where she willingly assisted her mother.

A nurse visited the home and asked her if she wouldn't like to be able to talk again. She nodded her head in reply.

She came with me willingly and coöperated nicely in having a physical examination which was made very easy for her. It was found she had large tonsils. The doctor thought if her tonsils were to be removed she could be induced to talk under the anesthetic.

The surgeon who operated on Alicia got her to talk as she went under the anesthetic and also when she came out. She was delighted to be able to speak. She has never lapsed into speechlessness again.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. For scientific purposes has the term *sub-conscious mind* any advantages over the term *unconscious activities* or *processes*?
2. Which has had most influence in history and on individual behavior in general, individual or sex drives? Give reasons for your belief.
3. Is the Œdipus complex universal or only incidental to certain social situations? Give reasons.
4. Do you know of any instances where excessive liking or dislike for a parent has greatly influenced mating, or the success of marriage? Give the facts.
5. Is the Freudian term *censor* more useful than it is dangerous? Why?
6. What sort of mental disorders are most likely to be cured by psychoanalysis? May psychoanalysis sometimes do more hurt than good?
7. Recall if you can any dream that you can interpret as a symbolic representation of some mental conflict.

8. If we had full knowledge of the laws of conditioning, would we have a complete guide in promoting mental hygiene?

9. Write a paper supporting or discounting the claim that conflict is the key to the understanding of all living things.

10. What is the chief value of studying diseased minds?

11. In Case 1, (a) could the condition described have developed if all ideas relating to sex had not been severely repressed? (b) Could a similar condition arise from the secret suppression of some food or fear impulse? (c) Give suggestions for the restoration of this girl to a normal condition.

12. In Case 2, (a) describe how this girl might possibly have been cured by giving her many occasions for spontaneous speech. (b) Would attempts to get her to speak by effort of will be as likely to cure her?

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CHAPTER IX

PSYCHOLOGY OF NORMAL INTEGRATIVE ACTIVITIES

General theory of mental hygiene. The personality, physical and mental, is continuously adjusting to avoid or resolve conflicts, and in this way survives and obtains satisfactions. Since conflicts always intensify conscious states, the less evident processes of adjustment and integration are obscured.

If, from the first, surroundings are normal, favorable, and consistent, a child or adult stops playing or working when he begins to get tired, stops eating when he has enough, and usually forms habits of eating, sleeping, and elimination at certain times in response to conditioned stimuli, continually adjusting the present in relation to the future.

Disharmony may be produced when the effort to secure an interesting object gives pain, arouses anger or fear, and causes conflicting movements of approach and withdrawal. The pain of extreme effort to get something desired conflicts with the impulse to avoid effort or pain, but usually such conflicts are not prolonged. Prolonged conflicts, however, are often increased rather than decreased by voluntary efforts, so that the harder one tries to reach a wise decision, the more difficult it becomes to reach any.

Conflicts with authority are common, but they need not be. Healthy children, placed in an environment that is interesting and not dangerous, and to which they can do no serious damage, may well be left to themselves. A child who is not too frequently or too untactfully interfered with usually does not fuss much when checked in what he is doing, but soon occupies himself contentedly with something else.

The harmonious adjusting of the past, present, and future in personality development is often interfered with by authoritative thwartings and by artificial stimulation of desires suited to a later stage of development. The over-gentlemanly boy may thus become either the sissy man, or a man in revolt against conventions.

Our general theory, then, which is to be supported by facts cited in subsequent pages, is that conflicts are incidents and accidents in the physiological, psychic, and social functioning of healthy personalities; and that a correct physical and mental hygiene is to be founded on the truth that the organism is continually making harmonious adjustments, rather than founded upon the more exceptional facts of intense and prolonged conflicts of the personality with its environment, physical and social, and with conscious and unconscious influences within itself.

Bodily adjustments. Professor W. B. Cannon and other physiologists have shown that the various mechanisms of the body are efficient in the maintenance of normal supply of body fluids of a certain content upon which life activity depends. These fluids must be kept moving at the necessary rate by sufficient pressure, so that the cells will be supplied with nutriment and have waste materials removed. All life energy is produced by chemical activity for which oxygen is necessary. There are elaborate mechanisms that act automatically, one set when blood pressure is getting too high, and the other set when it is getting too low.

There are also mechanisms for storing and giving up nutritive material that keep the blood from having too great or too small an amount of salt, sugar, and albumin, and other substances. The number of red corpuscles and the amount of oxygen in the blood is regulated by similar opposing mechanisms. In other words, the internal environment of the body cells is kept from varying in an extreme degree in one direction by

appropriate activities, and in the opposite direction by others, so that normal health activity is obtained.

The outside temperature may change a hundred degrees while the internal temperature is kept practically constant. The outside air may vary in pressure and in amount of oxygen within wide limits, while the blood pressure and oxygen within the body is kept nearly constant. The internal behavior of vital organs, glands, muscles, and nerves is a process of adjusting opposing activities so that internal environing fluids and cell activities are kept favorable to continued life and health. There is seeming conflict, but one type of activity prevents one extreme and another the opposite extreme, and thus normal adjustments are maintained. The essential truth for physiology and hygiene is not to be found in conflicting tendencies, but in the domination of the activity that will restore the usual functioning.

Not only are internal organs adjusted to each other in their functioning, but also the neuromuscular mechanisms. Many of the muscles are arranged in pairs that contract and relax in adjustive ways as shifts in direction of movement are made. Groups of muscles also act in harmony with other groups, instead of being pitted against each other. The most striking example of an exception is in "cramps"—when one set of muscle fiber is pulling against another. This tendency to harmonious rather than to opposing action is partly the result of inherited structural connections, and partly acquired by practice in coördinating muscles in one way for one end, and in a different way for another end.

Conflicting muscular action is sometimes produced by coördinated movements in an unfavorable environment. For example, if in reading or observing something carefully, one directs his eyes just in front of him while there is a light or a sunshiny window a little in front and at one side, there are reflex contractions tending to turn the eyes toward the bright light; these reflex actions, however, are opposed by the voluntary muscles

that keep the eyes turned toward the object being observed. This soon produces fatigue and, if long continued, nervous disorders. Facial wrinkles, twitchings, and vocal stutterings are usually indications of disharmonious muscular action. Rarely, however, do disharmonies of muscular action constitute more than a very small fraction of the total muscular adjustments made, even by so-called nervous persons.

The physiological processes of growth are in the direction of producing structure of a certain form and texture—nails, hair, glands, muscular tissue, nervous tissue, etc. The processes giving such results are more or less successful, depending upon original structure, harmony of parts and environing situations, especially food, heat, and light. Adaptations to these factors are shown in the facts of acclimatization and of adjustments to varieties of foods and conditions of living. The body by physiological adjustments tries, in effect, to learn how to maintain the usual life processes amidst many unfavorable situations.

When parts are destroyed, the body sets up processes of restoring them, although the more specialized portions, such as nerve cells, cannot be replaced by the same kind of tissue. Nerve fibres, however, grow out from intact nerve cells and restore sensory-motor functions of parts. New connective tissue cells are generally used for filling in wounds, but do not usually take on the functions of the cells they replace. Highly specialized cells, wherever placed, function in a certain way. For example, when a surgeon uses a finger to replace a portion of the nose that has been lost, he must be careful not to include any of the cells from the base of the nail, or a nail will grow on the new nose.

When a part of an organ such as a kidney is removed, the remaining portion assisted by other organs “learns” to carry on the usual functions of the kidney. In many ways the physiological adaptations of the body are analogous to, and probably identical in fundamentals with, the conscious purposive behavior adaptations of individuals to life situations; and they surely tend

to promote the individual welfare and to preserve species traits and species behavior.

Under ordinary conditions each type of activity is regulated by itself and the reciprocal influence of those parts most closely related to it; but every sense organ, muscle, and gland, together with such vital organs as heart, lungs, stomach, and brains, has some influence upon all others; and all activities are dominated by the organism as a whole in its own interests.

This latter truth is supported by the outcome of extensive experiments by Stockard and others, in grafting parts of plants and animals onto others of the same or of different species. Often the first results of grafting a gland or other part onto the body of the same or of related species are not permanent because the functioning of the graft is modified by its new body environment. The less specialized skin structure is easily grafted; but if put on the body of a human being of a different color, is likely to lose its original color after a time and take on that of the body host with which it becomes harmonized. In other words, each organism as a whole modifies and integrates its parts, even those artificially introduced.

When there are unusual and violent changes in the environment, it is difficult for an organism to adjust in such a way as to continue the normal and harmonizing functioning of all its parts. If, however, the changes are gradual, it is surprising to find how successfully adjustments are made so as to preserve the harmony necessary to life and health. One may become inured to cold or heat, to sunshine or shade, to little or more air pressure, to moist or dry climate, to violent exercise or close confinement, or to a limited or an excessive diet of one kind or another.

There are problems of physiological adjustment too difficult for the body to solve, just as there are problems of behavior adjustment too difficult for conscious minds to solve. Bodies differ in their ability to make adjustive changes just as minds do.

One is as subject to conditioning as the other, and the activities of each are determined by the individual heredity and the history of reactions to environing situations.

Instinctive adjustments. Spontaneous behavior is, in general, favorable to survival. Without conscious choice one takes in more or less air, food, and water as needed, and makes appropriate movements according to temperature conditions, which relieve the mechanisms of internal behavior from the necessity of making extreme adjustments. Man's responses to certain kinds of stimuli are similar to the tropisms of insects and other animals which compel them to seek or to avoid light, heat, etc., according to their nature or their condition at the time. Such adjustments of external reactions are sometimes partly provided for by special automatically acting mechanisms which, for example, make us wink when the eye gets dry, drink when the throat is dry, eat when the stomach is empty, shiver or exercise when we get cold, rest when tired, etc. The tendencies thus to adjust to the external environment in ways helpful to healthful internal adjustments are called reflexes, whereas the more complex reactions of the whole body are often designated as instinctive. The mechanisms for making such adjustive reactions are often definitely present in animals, and probably also in man, either at birth or after a certain stage of maturity is reached.

An infant can do little to adjust to changes in temperature, either by external reactions or by internal activities, and hence needs to be protected from the cold by the action of others. The internal mechanisms first mature and "learn" to restore body temperatures; then the mechanisms of external adjustments help to avoid extremes; and finally, by voluntary action, man learns to control his temperature in part by means of clothing, fire, fans, etc.

The external behavior adjustments made by animals without conscious direction and to a less extent by human beings, are only a little less well integrated than the internal adjustments

made by the organs of the body. There are two opposing modes of behavior toward outer objects—withdrawal and approach. A sudden change in outer conditions produces movements of contraction and a withdrawal, but, if the change is not too great, there is a reverse tendency to expand and approach the stimulating object. The contraction and withdrawal is primarily a fear reaction, whereas the expansion and approach is the beginning of the curiosity reaction. When the stimulus is not too frightening, withdrawal often ceases and is replaced by the curiosity reaction of observation and approach. Alternation between the two types of behavior may often be observed in animals and children when a new object presents itself. Thus the child is guarded against extreme and unnecessary withdrawal, flight, or screaming for help, on the one hand, and on the other, against quick and dangerous approach. Soon one or the other type of behavior becomes dominant, and the reaction to stimuli of this kind becomes definitely one of avoidance, of tolerance, or of enjoyment.

Environmental conditions and instinctive and acquired interests play a large part in determining what type of reaction shall dominate. If, when the sudden or strange stimulus is received, the person is in unfamiliar surroundings, fear reactions may dominate; whereas if he is on familiar ground, curiosity may gain the ascendancy. The presence of others, and especially their conduct makes a great difference. By their behavior companions may produce the most disturbing fear or the most intense curiosity. Other instinctive and acquired activities and interests, such as playing and eating, may also minimize the effects of a strong or strange stimulus. The essential truth to be emphasized is that such conflicts are not usually intensified and prolonged, but are spontaneously resolved into effective adjustments of one or the other type.

The internal bodily preparation for fear reactions is the same as for anger. The increased rate of breathing and heart beat

makes the body ready for vigorous muscular effort, the blood is changing in character so that, if wounds occur, it will clot more quickly. The external reaction, however, is different at first, fear producing contraction and withdrawal, and anger producing expansion and attack.

The originally effective stimulus to anger is interference with what is being done, hence fear is often transformed into anger—"a cornered rat will fight." For the same reason it is dangerous to intercept a fugitive, as his fleeing energy is likely to be turned into attack. The animal or man overtaken by his enemy may suddenly begin to fight. If this occurs, the anger of the pursuer may as suddenly be changed into the retreat of fear. Because of this close relation between fear and anger, both animals and men confronted by their equals alternate between attack and retreat, and often ultimately adjust on a peace basis, sometimes in the form of playful attack and retreat in which the muscles are more free and relaxed than in serious attack and retreat.

In man, the "laughing animal," the grotesqueness of something in the fear or anger activities not infrequently arouses the sense of humor, all the muscles relax as one laughs, and anger or fear reactions quickly cease. The sudden change, as well as the example of others, may excite laughter in all the spectators.

Such agreeable experiences lead to more or less conscious attempts to reproduce them by teasing, in which the victim of teasing is stimulated to begin to react as in serious anger or fear situations, but suddenly finds such reaction unnecessary. The play of children and puppies, the practical jokes and "joshing" of adults often take this form, and are continued with the rôles of teaser and teasee continually reversed, often to the enjoyment of all parties concerned. Thus, out of conflicting activities, healthful social intercourse develops.

It is only when such activities are specialized and one-sided that permanent conflicts between individuals, and within personalities, are common. If one does all the teasing, it is more likely

to take on the form of bullying and perhaps of cruelty on one side, and of more or less helpless anger or resistance on the other.

If the two are nearly equal either in teasing or fighting ability, the extremes of cruelty on one side and of hate on the other are prevented; and if there is no outside interference, the individuals adjust to each other sooner or later on a reasonable and tolerable, if not an enjoyable, basis, and in a way that is healthful to the personalities of both.

This healthful tendency of opposing instinctive reactions to produce normal adjustments in individual and social behavior is likely to be prevented if older persons enforce conventions that interfere with instinctive actions and reactions of individuals who are nearly equal in physical ability, knowledge, prestige, and wit.

When persons are so unequal that one cannot effectively defend himself or induce the stronger one to modify his conduct, it may be helpful for some one to restrain the aggressor or to coach the teased one so that he may nullify the attacks of the other. The most effective way of nullifying the attacks of the teaser is to exercise self-control in refusing to perform as expected. Most children discover this for themselves.

The more serious acts of bullying and cruelty are sometimes corrected by the interference of companions. Weak individuals frequently utilize such modes of defense. Persons in authority rarely bring about as normal adjustments as are produced by association of individuals who are nearly equal and who, by adjusting to each other, develop their own personalities.

When an adult or an official, in dealing with children or subordinates, resorts to teasing or bullying of those who cannot possibly meet the attacks by the usual methods, the results are unfortunate for all concerned. Teasing of little children by adults merely "for fun" often has disastrous effects upon the adjustments of the child; while bullying or sarcasm, if persistently

practised, cause the aggressor to become more and more unsuited to social life, and to be poorly adjusted in his instinctive trends. On the other hand, adults are often seriously disturbed by the teasing of children, who delight to make them perform.

The effects upon the oppressed one vary greatly, some learning to endure without resistance or resentment, whereas others resort to deception and trickery, thereby inflicting as much, sometimes more, pain on their oppressor than they receive; still others, the most unfortunate of all, are kept in a continuous state of paralyzing fear or of repressed anger and brooding hate, their only hope being for ultimate revenge.

Sometimes the oppressed individual who is humiliated by his helplessness resolves to make himself strong or efficient in some positive way, partly for revenge, but chiefly to restore his own self-respect by compelling respect on the part of others. This is, on the whole, the most healthful reaction that an individual can make to such a situation.

Feeding activities are, as already pointed out, adjusted on the one hand to the metabolic and digestive activities within the body, and on the other to the amount of work and play activities. Other instincts, such as fear and anger, are also affected. Moderate hunger produces restlessness; but extreme hunger deadens fear so that chances, even of death, are taken in order to secure the food necessary to life. On the other hand, extreme fear or anger stops digestion and destroys all desire for food. When hungry, but not debilitated, an animal or person may survive by subordinating fear or anger to the effort to secure food; whereas after long deprivation one ceases to be hungry and does not take dangerous chances to secure it. One actuated by intense fear or anger cannot be diverted by food stimuli from retreat or attack. When moderately hungry and only moderately excited by fear or anger situations, there may be efficient readiness to fight or flee if necessary, while quietly continuing to eat. Among hens, cattle, and other animals living in groups, con-

flicts over food are not repeated many times, but the defeated learn to yield to the slightest threat of the victor.

Food activities are similarly related to sex activities, extremes of either being checked and regulated to some extent by the other. In the natural state both types of activity are rhythmic, with the food rhythms shorter and perhaps less intense than the sex rhythms, but adjusted to each other and to fear and anger situations so as on the whole to preserve individuals, and indirectly the species, from destructive extremes. Fighting by males for leadership of a herd is common, but such fights are rarely renewed, the defeated ones, if alive, taking subordinate places. In man the sex rhythms are shorter and less intense than in most animals, but food activities are naturally adjusted to those of sex so that conflict or extreme dominance of one or the other is usually only temporary.

At certain times the impulse to protect and feed young is temporarily in conflict with the individualistic impulses of parents.

In man, both eating and sex activities are stimulated and repressed and more effectively adjusted in situations arousing esthetic, intellectual, and social activities. There is a native tendency to such acts, although they are readily conditioned and developed in special ways. Food is taken not merely because it is needed and of a kind that is necessary, but because of its pleasant taste, agreeable odor, and attractive appearance of the cutlery, cloth, and dishes associated with it. Without these accompaniments most persons who are accustomed to them will not eat enough to digest properly what they do eat. On the other hand, these accompaniments sometimes induce overeating, or eating improper food. This is partly compensated for by the more active digestive processes set up because of the pleasant surroundings.

Companionship while eating, along with moderate intellectual activity, stimulates, represses, and regulates the rate, manner,

and amount of eating, and when proper adjustments are made, helps the digestive processes. Conventions of eating and of social relations and obligations together with esthetic appreciations, thus help to regulate the taking of food; while under primitive conditions of food scarcity and of dangers, they are regulated almost wholly by physiological and biological situations and instincts. Esthetic feelings and social conventions play a similar part in the adjustment and regulation of sex activities.

Consciousness in relation to bodily and instinctive adjustments. Consciousness and bodily activities are closely associated. Emotional states are largely dependent upon the internal physiological processes and are modified by the instinctive and voluntary reactions made. The adjustments of physiological processes and instinctive reactions are, as previously shown, generally harmonious. When the objective activity continues to be vigorous, the physiological processes are adjusted to furnish energy for such action. If, however, objective activity is decreased, while conscious images of the exciting stimulus intensify the emotion, the harmony is disturbed. Uncoördinated behavior activities, which always accompany emotions, use some of the excess energy set free but do not restore harmony. The healthful adjustment to shocks is found in an increase of coördinated behavior activities which will decrease the effects of the shocks, thus allowing both the behavior and the physiological processes to return to normal.

Whatever interferes with coördinated objective action is likely to increase unduly the physiological processes that are in part the basis of emotions. The results of intense and prolonged emotions are always disturbing to the personality and unfavorable to healthy functioning. Lesser emotional experiences with appropriate behavior reactions and prompt return to normal are, on the contrary, stimulating to healthful adjustments.

The individual who promptly engages in some coördinated activity is in little danger of mental unhealth from emotional

shocks; they are sidetracked, and the energy is often expended in such a way that similar situations will not produce disturbances. The individual who does not use this outlet but, without lessening the stimulus, increases the signs of irritation or disappointment, intensifies the disturbing changes in bodily processes. On the other hand, to be emotionally stirred in any way and to prolong the condition without taking any appropriate action fosters sentimentalism in which there is no integration of the experience. Quickly to dissipate the emotion is not unhealthful but means a failure to profit by the experience through vigorous action. The speech or sermon inciting to heroic deeds is frequently followed by a tension-relieving applause or song, the return to normal often being completed by eating a hearty dinner and going to sleep.

If internal processes and external behavior stimulated by emotions are quickly adjusted to each other, as is likely to be true of the milder primitive emotions of fear and anger, and in esthetic appreciations and sentiments, there is relief from monotony and the effect is stimulating. Sometimes strong emotion causes a break-up of old adjustments and the foundation of new and better ones, but more often it is the other way, the new ones being less effective than the old.

To take means of increasing even the milder emotions and sentiments without in any way modifying one's objective behavior is weakening because the conscious and physiological processes are not adjusted to, and integrated with, the instinctive and volitional behavior. The individual becomes a sentimentalist who does not face and adjust to realities. The attempt to intensify and prolong pleasures of the sensory type for their own sake, as in the case of persons who indulge their appetites for food, drink, excitement, or sex, usually ends in failure. In other words, their energies are used in pleasures that decrease, rather than in objective achievements that preserve and increase, the capacity for both feeling and doing.

In animals there is, under ordinary conditions, a very definite tendency to adjust body processes to objective situations, and to adjust behavior to both body condition and the situation presented; and usually there is no prolongation of emotional states after the exciting stimulus ceases to act. Wild animals rarely or never overeat, neither do domestic animals that have been allowed to eat at will; though rationed cows and horses frequently founder if they get free where there is an abundance of food. Men also who have been subjected to restrictive conventions may similarly fail in making life adjustments when freed from the restrictions.

The great capacity that man has for representing situations not present often disturbs the natural relations between actual stimuli to anger, fear, or other emotion by repeating and intensifying such stimuli. For example, in a state where wild deer are hunted only during one week in the year, the animals suffer severely from fear of hunters during that week, but even then only at such times when there are signs of human presence, and for a short time afterward. Under the same conditions, many human beings would revive their fears for six months by picturing the dangers they had undergone, and would anticipate during the next six months greater dangers to be encountered.

Imaginary fears and wrongs are among the most important sources of mental ill health in human beings, but they have little part in the life of animals. Men who use their superior intelligence, not in imagining what has happened or may happen, but in planning a kind of behavior that will either avoid the situation that causes emotional shocks, or in devising ways of meeting the situation, are doing as healthy human beings naturally do.

In this field instincts, as usually understood, are partly replaced by intelligence guided by one's own experience and knowledge based on the experience of others. There is no doubt that the conscious personality strives to preserve healthful norms by this

means, and there are opposing emotional and intellectual activities that prevent extremes: for example, a natural tendency to react from one extreme toward another, and thereby to return to a normal state of consciousness more satisfactory than either extreme.

The body and mind have a natural wisdom in directing adjustments that is more often interfered with, than assisted by voluntary effort; hence it is not always wise to try to make one's self go contrary to natural impulses. Nor is it advantageous to accept too much help in making easy adjustments of body and mind.

The older schools of medicine, psychology, and sociology concerned themselves with trying directly to reduce extreme activities—fever, overeating, anger, thieving—instead of indirectly through giving the body, the mind, and society a favorable environment for return to normal by natural self-adjusting processes. In general, the older methods are medical in character, and are helpful only when functioning has become quite abnormal; while making conditions favorable for return to normal is the hygienic method of treatment. As the sciences of body- and mind-functioning develop, there will be less use for doctors and psychiatrists, and more use for directors of physical and mental hygiene.

The Freudian psychology has done a good work in calling attention to the unconscious activities of various types, and the bad effects of voluntary repressions brought about by the influence of authority and conventions. But it has overemphasized the tendency, characteristic of abnormal persons but not of persons in normal health, to go to greater and greater extremes whenever variations from the normal occur. The hygienists emphasize the more important truth, that all healthy living organisms react in ways favoring return to adjusted harmonious functioning. Even when the balance of perfect health has been destroyed there is often a persistent effort of the organism to re-

store normal conditions. The same truth is to be observed in all personality behavior, although conscious behavior adjustments are not as sure to be healthful as are many of the physiological and some of the instinctive adjustments.



The mind, like the body, strives to preserve a balanced state of satisfaction by adjustments that, if continued unchecked by opposing tendencies, would go to extremes.

The influence of fatigue naturally limits the prolongation and intensification of every activity. In a healthy individual this limitation helps to restore normal emotional tone in much the same way as the feeling of fatigue diminishes the physical activity giving rise to it. Undue prolongation of an activity or an emotion may do away with the feeling of fatigue and thus nullify its value. This produces an abnormal condition in which over-activity or overemotion continues, and increases without check.

Emotions, like muscles and instincts, are often paired so that greater activity of one means less of the other; a highly pleasurable feeling is often succeeded by an opposite feeling of gloom or distress. Laughter and tears are, as every one knows, closely related. There is an element of pleasure in intense grief, and of pain in the greatest joy, perhaps suggested by contrast. No sensible orator attempts to be continuously amusing or pathetic, or terrifying or pleading, but by alternating his stimuli, he obtains the desired effects with less effort.

Individuals who go to great extremes are on the heights or in the depths most of the time, intervals of moderate satisfaction being rare or absent. This condition is accentuated in one form of insanity in which the periods of exaltation and melancholy are prolonged and intense. Persons who vibrate quickly between opposing emotions, like those who alternate at frequent intervals between work and play, are not so likely to get into an abnormal condition as those who work or play for long periods at a time, or unduly prolong one type of feeling or effort. Conscious satisfactions are likely to be maintained by per-

sons whose environment stimulates varied emotions every day, and who exercise some voluntary control in choosing varied environment and avoid excesses and prolongations of emotions. Continued satisfaction is promoted by checking excesses, rather than by increasing and prolonging pleasures or griefs as much as possible. In a favorable environment with sufficient variety of emotional appeal little or no volitional effort is necessary to harmonize activities. Equilibrium of emotions, and continued conscious satisfaction, is as natural as to maintain bodily vigor while playing, working, exercising, eating, or sleeping, as one feels like doing.

Intellectual adjustments. Intellectual vigor and balanced judgment are secured by adjustments of opposing tendencies. *Perception* is an efficient act in proportion as sensations actually being experienced are balanced by associated stimuli and by conditioning habits. When the fingers are crossed, a ball or pencil placed between them is perceived as two objects because of previous conditioning of these parts by being stimulated by two objects. The length of a line is perceived as longer when lines are arranged thus , and shorter when placed in this position .

The size and shape of objects is judged not so much by actual sensations on the retina, as by past experiences of the objects seen clearly at right angles to the line of vision. Hence circles are not seen as ellipses in most of the positions from which they are viewed, but correctly as circles; while one who is drawing must learn to perceive them according to the impression produced on the retina.

Present sensations and past experiences are involved in all perceptions, notably in the perception of oral and visual words. This has been most clearly demonstrated by reading experiments that show that a rapid reader actually sees only a part of a few letters, and mentally fills in the gaps and recognizes correctly most of the words. (Some verification of this may be

secured by the ordinary reader who covers the upper or lower half of a line of print and then reads it, or by noticing that he can usually name some of the words on the next page before turning the leaf.)

Experiments on suggestibility of children and adults emphasize the importance, for correct and efficient perception, of the right balance between the actual stimulus given and the suggestion received.

Suggestions are of two types: (1) responses to conditioning stimuli, and (2) responses to the actions and words of other persons. One who is lacking in suggestibility is likely to be very slow in his perceptions, whereas the suggestible person is rapid in his perceptions, and sometimes makes them wholly on the basis of conditioned stimuli or in accordance with the actions or sayings of others. All perceptions are the result of adjustments between sensations significant in themselves, and those made significant by conditioning. Rapidity and accuracy are secured by noting the most significant features of the stimuli, and by readiness in filling in what usually goes with them.

Imagination, memory, and thinking exemplify opposing adjustment tendencies—one to accept as real or true whatever images or ideas are clearly formed in the mind, and the other to form contradictory images and ideas. All dreams seem real at the time, but on awakening are usually contradicted either by the sight of objects present, by time and space setting contrary to that supposed in the dream, or by ideas of the probability or possibility of such events occurring. Either dreams or waking images, in a poorly lighted room, where they are not clearly contradicted by the sensations given by real things, are often accepted as true. Illusions and hallucinations rather than true perceptions are more common when conditions are not favorable for distinct sensations or when images are unnaturally vivid and persistent, or, in other words, when not adjusted as usual to each other.

Again, one's perceptions, images, and thoughts are to a considerable extent the results of adjustments of one's own experiences to those of companions. Our perceptions and memories of what happens are often much influenced by the actions and words of others. One's clearest perception of an object becomes doubtful when others present deny the existence of the sound heard or the object seen. One who persists in affirming what all others deny is either very individual or is experiencing hallucinations, which are so often characteristic of insanity.

Memories of past scenes are greatly influenced by what others say, and many persons are often uncertain or unreliable in their reports, confusing what they saw with what they have heard, and incorrectly identifying them. Reliability of a report may often be increased by adjusting one's own memories to those of others.

Standards and ideals of beauty, goodness, and truth are in a large measure produced by social influences, whereas subsequent individual judgments are adjustments between these socially produced standards and one's own impressions. Satisfactions resulting from contacts with others are the result of opposing tendencies to satisfy one's self, and to produce satisfaction in the minds of others. The normal individual adjusts his egoism and altruism to his own satisfaction instead of keeping these impulses in constant conflict.

The conclusions reached by a process of *thinking* are partly the result of judging the relationship of ideas to each other as logical, and partly the result of conditioning that impels one to reach conclusions generally acceptable. Individual desires as well as social conditioning play a considerable part in leading any one to conclusions pleasing to himself. Thus every one "rationalizes" to some extent in his thinking, especially when his own conduct or satisfaction or that of his friends is involved in the conclusions reached. The cold, logical reasoner strives to reach conclusions in accordance with the logical relations of the gen-

eral and particular truths involved, regardless of personal feelings or social standards, whereas careful scientists, in an impersonal way, compare their theories with the particular facts and established principles to determine whether the two are consistent. Even when successful in being impersonal and free from social influences, the logician is influenced by his feelings of pleasure in the logical relations of ideas, and the scientist by the satisfaction of finding law rather than chaos in nature, especially if he has helped to discover the law. The philosopher who seeks to harmonize ideas with feelings, conduct, and nature is more often influenced by logical consistency of ideas or their emotional appeal, than by the correspondence of theories with objective facts.

Harmonizing purposes. Mental-hygiene theories must be founded on the conception of the personality as a whole, not as a mass of warring activities, but as adjusting to each other in such ways as to continue to live and approximate the typical or usual individual with variations according to endowment, environment, and special experience. In this process purposes and means of attaining them vary at different stages of development. Unless social direction persistently interferes with these processes, there are no intense or long-continued conflicts, but continual adjustments in which some urges are weakened and others strengthened, some skills developed and others allowed to lapse, some adjustments of immediate and remote ends, and subordination of one to the other. There are no persistent efforts to reach several ends at the same time or by contradictory means: for example, gain the love of others while sacrificing their interests to one's own. Instead, one will give up one or the other objective, or engage in acts of getting what he wants by helping others to get what they want, and thus reach both ends.

The situations confronting one often stimulate opposing modes of reaction, but one or the other reaction soon becomes the dominant response. Every new situation may call forth either

a negative reaction to be avoided on account of dangers or difficulties, or a positive reaction because of the results to be gained, or the pleasure of active effort involved. One is thus both attracted and repelled by many of the situations he meets and for a time may alternate between assuming a negative or a positive attitude. Usually these uncertainties and tentative conflicting reactions do not continue for long, but give way to one or the other type, say the negative type of adjustment. The next situation may excite similar conflicting tendencies, but result in a positive adjustment. When similar situations are met again, the reactions are likely to be negative to one type and positive to the other, and the individual becomes more interested in certain features of his environment and skilful in adjusting to them, though he ignores or actively avoids other phases. The more one takes the positive mode of reacting to situations, the wider his interest and the broader his personality development; on the other hand, a preponderance of negative reactions narrows personality development. Unless positive adjustment is made to some unfortunate kinds of situations, no vigorous living is possible.

Natural endowment and its matching with environment determines what situations shall be met by negative reactions, and what ones by positive. It is, of course, advantageous to mental health when things that are really satisfying are reacted to positively and when there is sufficient ability to gain them. Desire and power to attain are usually at least partly correlated, and under favorable conditions may be brought into harmony with each other.

When native endowments are not strongly individual, the development of interests in one line or another is largely the result of conditioning experiences at earlier stages of development, and of continuous social influences that stimulate and facilitate positive reactions to some situations and negative ones to others.

Negative reactions have most value during helpless infancy, but are occasionally useful throughout life when one is unable to take the positive or aggressive attitude. If negative reactions, however, are too frequently made, personality growth is seriously limited. If one avoids *all* dangers and shuns *all* responsibilities, he cannot possibly become a vigorous personality; and if he survives physically and gains any knowledge, it must be because of what others do for him. If, after one has reacted positively and with success to life situations, he begins to show an increasing tendency to react to them negatively, his personality health is beginning to decline. A spell of sickness or a marked failure not infrequently starts either a child or adult regressing toward a more infantile stage of dependence on others, or may induce disorders that often destroy personality health.

The positive mode of reaction to life situations is in general the more common in a vigorous, healthy, developing personality. The aggressive personality gains skill in reacting to some, if not all, situations by continuously assuming more responsibilities with success and satisfaction. This, in general, is the course of development when the situations met by the usual person are usual or, if not, are not too difficult for the inferior, nor too easy for the superior individual. In every case health is fostered by a large proportion of successes in adjusting to situations, whereas a tendency toward ill health appears when failures are too great, too numerous, or prolonged. Failure is indicated by a return to the avoidance type of reaction or by extra attempts to gain success in other lines—termed *compensating*.

In dealing with material things the aggressive attitude is nearly always the healthful one. Time and energy, however, are sometimes wasted in attempts to achieve successes of little value or requiring much time, when the individual might be using his strongest endowments and acquisitions in achieving more worth-while results. Some persons have wasted a lifetime in trying to construct a perpetual-motion machine, whereas with their

ability they might have constructed other very useful machines by much less effort. Most individuals, however, who are not unduly influenced by other persons learn to adjust the abilities they possess to the ends they desire, so as progressively to secure with less effort more of the things they want.

In many instances this truth is obscured in individuals who seem to despise ease and comfort and who expend endless energy in climbing a mountain no one else has ever climbed, or spend much time in solving a puzzle or carrying on research. To such persons, difficult effort with success is the chief part of the satisfaction gained.

The same general type of aggressive individual may engage in dangerous adventures and take all sorts of chances for the enjoyable thrill of escaping. This attitude is more favorable to the growth of personality, especially in youth, than that of avoiding dangers and of getting as many satisfactions as possible with little effort. Either type is likely to remain healthy in a favorable environment if not induced by the stimulus (a dare or a reward) or the help of others (who supply what is wanted) to carry his special type of action to extremes.

In the social field the two types of reaction have somewhat different results. The aggressive person who makes *things* conform to his will by extra effort often meets with increasing difficulties when he uses force to compel *persons* to conform to his purposes. On the other hand, the individual who avoids difficult objective situations and hard effort of any kind excites no opposition on the part of others and may know how to induce them to contribute to his purposes. The helpless infant always survives in this way; and so prominent and general is the desire to use one's skills and to add to the welfare of persons pitied or loved that persons who appeal to them on this basis often achieve more social successes, and perhaps incidentally material successes, than aggressive individuals who exert force and excite

fear in dealing with others. "The meek" do thus often "inherit the earth."

A child left free to deal with a physical environment not too dangerous or too difficult will adjust to it in accordance with his interests and abilities. In many instances a child lives in an environment he cannot control and in which his attempts are hampered by the interference of adults. When irritated by objects that he cannot make serve his purposes, he usually ceases to act in an irritated way, and either renews his attempts to overcome the difficulty or tries something else. When persons are present, they complicate the situation either by doing things for him or by interfering with his efforts; but even then healthy children continue trying to find something they can do with satisfaction.

If the adult does not do what the child wants done but tries to direct the child or make him continue his attempts after he is ready to turn to something else, signs of irritation may continue and prevent successful adjustment. Many persons are thus led to form habits of reacting to some situations by signs of irritation instead of by some form of adjustive reaction that accomplishes the end or leads to avoiding or ignoring the irritating situation.

When prohibitions or other irritating situations are every day frequently reacted to by irritation, and when this reaction increases, the individual is started in the direction of becoming a less efficient and less healthy personality. Hamilton's survey of mental disorders in a city revealed the truth that of all causes of nervous disorders, this was the most prolific one. To repeat again and again the same irritating response, for example, an oath whenever a door slams, without adjusting one's efforts so as to decrease the irritation by changing the situation, ignoring it, or making one's self immune to it, is not only stupid but unhealthful. Useless scolding and fretting about what has oc-

curred or may occur is still more unhealthful. The important truth to repeat is that such unhealthful reactions are *not usual* in individuals who have been left alone when dealing with objective situations, and whose social restrictions have been consistent.

Conflicts in purposes to be gained are usually slight or rare when one's own purposes only are involved. Purposes made artificially prominent by associates or by social conventions make conflicts intense or prolonged. Such conflicts are not infrequent, but Freudians seem to regard them as normal, whereas more truth will be expressed if mental hygienists emphasize the tendency for the personality to make adjustments and preserve harmony of functioning whenever possible.

In treating of opposing impulses and integrative adjustments it has been necessary to analyze and group in more or less artificial ways the complexes that determine activities of various types—physiological, instinctive, emotional, intellectual. These are not really separate but are phases of the whole individual or person. He, like all organisms, acts as a whole and in such ways as to adjust all parts to each other, and to integrate the life of the past, present, and future. Complete integration is rare, but the tendency to integrative activity is universal and may be expected to be operating in the great majority of persons in the direction of improving adjustments that are healthful, rather than of increasing maladjustments.

CASE I.—Men, women, and children are rapidly adjusting themselves to varying situations every minute of the day. John wants to go out to play; Mother says he cannot go because it is raining. He objects, of course, but in a very short time he gets some of his toys and soon forgets he ever wanted to go outside. He wants to go swimming, but Mother says it's too cold; more objections, but soon he is playing in the sand hole. He wants Dad to come out in the yard and play ball with him. Dad says, "No, I'm busy"; he goes out the door mumbling something about Dad being always busy. The next thing you know he is playing with the dog.

Mother doesn't want to do the family wash on Monday. She is so tired and there is such a lot. But she knows it won't wash itself, so she starts in, works hard, and soon it's done and forgotten about. She wants a new hat, but she can't afford it, so she fixes up an old one. The family would like a vacation, but it's out of the question. They have a series of picnics and everybody is happy.

CASE 2.—As a young girl, Mary was exceedingly modest. She would never undress in a lighted room or take a bath without wearing a slip fastened at the shoulders. When she took care of her aunt's children, she would take the baby into a darkened room to undress him for bed. She was afraid out-of-doors after dark, was terrified in a storm, and very superstitious.

Being above the average intelligence, she did superior work in school, but was retiring, unsocial, and spent most of her leisure time in reading.

At home she was demonstrative in her affections, especially to her uncle and father, and would not leave the house without kissing them.

In relating unimportant events she was apt to exaggerate and speak untruths.

She is now a college graduate and attends either Harvard or Columbia summer school each year.

A few years ago, she returned from summer school wearing a diamond ring on her engagement finger, which attracted the attention of her people. She explained that she was engaged to be married to a Dr. — who had been one of her instructors the previous summer. Several times during the year she went to the railroad station where she said she was to see him as he passed through the city.

Although she continued to wear the ring, she no longer spoke of her fiancé and told her aunt he was dead. It later developed that she bought the ring herself, and that Dr — was a myth.

CASE 3.—Until I was twelve years of age, I was very active in a certain church. I was very happy in my work there; even prayer-meeting was as much a part of my life as was eating. I gained light and satisfaction from my work in the church.

Then my mother who, previous to her marriage, had been a devout member of another church felt herself an outcast and returned to her church. Naturally she wanted me and my younger sister to leave the church where we had worshiped, and to attend her church, to

learn, at least, the truth as held by her church. But my father and his sisters were most active in doing all that they could to convince my sister and me of the terrible mistake of so doing.

It would take many pages to tell of the war that ensued; threats of disinheritance, letters upon letters from outraged aunts, and every Sunday a hell to go through. Because my mother had worked hard to send us to school and because she had tried to provide what she could to give us the same opportunities that the other girls had, and because my father had been passive as to support, I was under obligation to my mother, especially since she was extremely sensitive and conscious of what she had done for us.

The religious war lasted during my high-school period. Well do I remember the agony of mind that I suffered, and the nights and nights of wakefulness and mental agony. I was most conscientious and sensitive, and I did all that I could to relieve my mother as far as work was concerned. My younger sister, an attractive girl, was much in contrast with me, for she was free, irresponsible, selfish, and almost insensitive to all that was going on, although she was but a year younger. She would just as soon become a member of my mother's church; or she would do as I did, shifting the responsibility to me. Her one aim and desire was to dress prettily and to appear attractive, and she spent her time toward achieving her aim.

Her contented mind, happy disposition and lack of worries naturally gave her a broader social life than did my worried, sensitive nature. She was strong, healthy, and happy, and every day I was becoming thinner, weaker, and passive to the pleasures of life. I *hated* life and all that it meant. I *hated* church. I *hated* my relatives. My mother antagonized me. A barrier grew up between us. My mother continued to talk about her failure, her absolute failure, in that she had not brought us up in her faith; she continued to talk about how much I owed to her, how she had given everything in the world to me, and how I would not, in return, do the one thing that she wanted me to do. The minister continued to tell her that she would not be saved because of us; I was responsible.

A cough developed. I grew thinner and it was a great effort to walk to school. And yet I would force myself to run home to get the dinner and to wash the dishes or to clean so that my mother would not have to do it when she reached home from her work at night. I would not sleep. If I dozed off, I would awaken myself with a sigh "Oh dear" probably a dozen times a night. My aunts said that I had

consumption. I was concerned, and yet I was not unhappy for I was not pleased with life.

For five years I attended my mother's church. Every time that I attended service I was more and more antagonized, not because of the church but because of the circumstances that forced me there. The minister antagonized me, for he continued to persuade my mother to believe that we were all lost.

The other minister, and the girls with whom I had worked in the other church, ostracized me from their society. The clerk of the other church brought a blank of resignation for me to fill out.

Through my four years of high school I worked hard. I believed for two years that I had consumption and I lived for the day only. I still could not sleep. My hair, which was my most precious possession as far as looks were concerned, came out by the handful; I could not comb it because it would fall out so thickly. My heart grew heavier and heavier.

I was graduated from high school. What was I to do next? Every vacation had been spent in some mill; I did not want to spend my life there. I had no money to go on to school. A friend suggested my borrowing money to go to normal school. I could not remain at home any longer. I could not go to the mill. I passed on the suggestion to my mother. She said there was no sense in my going to school for I would not live to teach. Some kindly spirit helped me to persist, however, and finally my mother agreed to lend me the money to go. So for three years I borrowed money from my mother, thus obligating myself more and more. She continued to remind me that I was breaking her heart by not joining her church, and by keeping my sister from it.

At normal school I was happier. The new environment was a relief. Letters from home kept me buried in worry, however. My mother wrote that she was unable to work; that would cut off my income. She believed that she would never be well again. The doctor told her that her illness was because of so much sorrow, and she made me believe that I was the cause of her sorrow.

From normal school I went to the northern part of the state to teach. I wanted to get just as far away as I could. I loved my school; everybody was very kind to me and it seemed as though I could begin life at last. And yet I had become shackled, more or less, to the past, and this limited my abilities. I was very shy, self-conscious, and I had an extreme inferiority complex.

Finally a nurse, fifteen years older than I, took an interest in me. She had a magnetic personality, and I was proud to have her like me. She became more and more interested; she would do anything for me. She showered me with attention. She was a motherly sort of a person, and I became very much attached to her.

I found in this friend all that I had wanted in my mother. She now took the place of my mother. At the end of a year I left her town to accept a much better position. I accepted the better position which brought me within six miles of my mother.

The barrier still exists between my mother and me. She realizes that my devotion is for another woman of her age. She is jealous and yet she likes this friend and feels that I am in safe hands. I spend my week-ends at home because my father and mother wish it, and yet I come back antagonized and unhappy every week. So great has become the barrier that there seems to be no love, no interest, no respect. Even before I reach home I am like a mad dog—ready to scratch at my mother. And she, too, has prepared for the onset and is ready to scratch back. On my return to my school I am unhappy and sorry to think I did not control my temper. The same thing is repeated the next week. I live during the week with my younger sister; she has not changed.

For many years I have felt the need of support, and I have tried to find it in God. I have prayed much and have read much in trying to bring myself into a consciousness of His spirit. I have longed for peace and strength and help. For a time I feel happy and then again I sink to such a low level that it takes me two weeks to climb back again, and then only through persistent effort. A feeling of extreme inferiority comes over me; I cannot force myself to mingle with others, and I am sensitive to what they say. In my sane moments I realize that I have many friends who admire me and who like me. They continually tell me how I should let myself free, that others may enjoy me—and yet I seem shackled and come out of my shell only occasionally.

I teach school, high school, and in addition to that I am dean of girls. I enjoy my work and yet I find my extra duties very hard, for I am so sensitive to everything that occurs in my administration. It takes the heart out of me to have to discipline a girl; trifles seem to overwhelm me, and I wish to flee everything. But I know that I cannot.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. Give instances of conflicts between present and future purposes that were quickly dissolved.
2. Give examples of conflicts between past and present which, as indicated by regrets, have not ceased.
3. Give reasons for doubting or for believing that the body is more sure to adjust its activities in a healthy way than the mind is to adjust its activities satisfactorily.
4. Which are better adjusted to each other, bodily processes and instincts, or conscious processes and instincts?
5. Write a paper showing the part that opposing mental tendencies play in perceptions and in memory errors.
6. Write as accurate an account as possible of teasing activities you have observed, and the effects upon the persons concerned.
7. When, if ever, would you protect a child from being teased?
8. Do adults ever need protection from the teasing of children?
9. What good effects of teasing have you observed?
10. Discuss the regulating influence of esthetic feelings upon (*a*) eating activities, (*b*) sex activities.
11. Write a paper on: How can emotions be better integrated with volition and conduct generally?
12. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages man possesses over animals in his power to image past and future situations more freely.
13. Give examples of voluntary efforts that help in adjusting, and of instances in which one does less well the harder he tries. In the latter case, is it often because the will is pushing the wrong buttons?
14. Describe instances of (*a*) perceptive adjustments of opposing tendencies, (*b*) memory adjustments, (*c*) reasoning adjustments.
15. Describe in detail some difficult decision you have made regarding what you were to do.
16. Report observations on two people, one of whom generally reacts in a positive way and the other in a negative way.
17. Give reasons for thinking that an aggressive person can or cannot be a successful social leader.
18. Give as many instances as you can of things that continue to irritate you. Are such reactions increasing or decreasing?
19. Are the adjustments in Case 1 the usual kind of adjustments made by normal people?

20. Is Case 2 an instance of repressing an instinct trend while mentally adjusting to it?

21. Is there any remedy in Case 3 except great distance and little or no communication?

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CHAPTER X

PROMOTING HEALTHFUL ADJUSTMENTS TO CONVENTIONS

The general problem. It is clear from previous discussion that processes of adjusting, maturing, learning, and integration are partly unconscious and partly conscious. In order to realize the full significance of the problem of intentional versus incidental learning, it is necessary to call attention to some of the many adjustive and integrative processes that are going on all the time with little or no direction by consciousness, and with no effort of will.

The organism is being prepared by maturation processes and by continuous environmental conditioning to function in any environment of the type to which it is being subjected. Instinctive adjustments of seeking favorable temperatures, suitable food, and of avoiding dangers, are made more or less successfully in accordance with species traits, individual endowment, and special environment and companionship. Birds acquire the songs of companions, but use the fundamental cries of their species. Children are even more influenced by companions and acquire their modes of behavior and their language with little conscious effort.

The parent or teacher may try to arrange so that a considerable part of the child's learning is incidental and, especially in early life, a smaller part voluntary; or he may try from the beginning to induce the child to make all adjustments consciously and voluntarily. The question of incidental versus conscious effortful learning is in part one of which method is most efficient in teaching various things at various times, and may be settled by means of careful scientific experiments.

From the mental hygienist's point of view, however, the choice of method should not be determined wholly by the demonstrated degree of efficiency in special lines that results from its use, but in part by the effect upon the development of the whole personality as an integrated unit. The chief concern of the hygienist is that the development shall be along lines natural for human beings and healthful for one with the special endowments of the individual being taught, and that this development shall be brought about without unnecessary and prolonged conflicts between present impulses and the consciousness of a future to be realized.

Whenever adults demand that children shall inhibit natural impulses in the present as a means of adjusting to a distant future, conflicts are initiated, consciousness is intensified, and voluntary effort is necessary to make the adjustments required. Intentional teaching by savages at puberty, and nearly all teaching by civilized people at all ages, requires much conscious voluntary adjustment. Customs of everyday living are adjusted to incidentally, and with little consciousness and no prolonged voluntary effort.

The general problem to be solved is to determine what kinds of adjustments may best be made at different ages incidentally, and what by intensive conscious effort.

Inevitability of conventions. Social conventions give rise to what Freud calls the *censor*, and as he justly claims, personality disorders are to a great extent the result of inner conflict between impulses largely unconscious and social conventions represented by the censor. Some persons accept the theory that such conflicts are inevitable, and that the remedy is simply to sweep away all conventions and leave the individual to act freely according to his impulses. This too simple remedy is not approved by any intelligent mental hygienist.

The mere presence of other plants and animals of the same species in the environment demands adjustments not necessary

to a solitary plant or animal. Man, like most species of plants and animals, is usually found in groups. In order to survive physically in a limited space, the behavior of each person must be adjusted to the behavior of others of the group. This often gives rise to conflicts, but adjustments that are consistent must be made, or the group as a whole is likely to perish.

When a large proportion of the individuals composing a group have formed habits of adjusting in fairly uniform ways to their physical environment and to each other, these modes of action become "conventions," "cultures," "mores" in the broad sense of these words. It then becomes difficult for any member of the group to remain in it and to survive without adjusting to these conventions as well as to the more special behavior of individual companions.

An important portion of the early life of all human beings consists, not so much in reacting to others of his own native endowment and degree of maturity, as in unconscious adjustments to the conventions reflected in the behavior of adults, and voluntary conformity to the teaching of parents, teachers, priests, and others in authority.

These conventions always require temporary or permanent repression of impulses and regulation of activities. Sometimes they are of such a nature that it is very difficult for children and even for adults to adjust to them, and the results are conflicts with persons in authority, in the course of which the conventions may be modified; but more often the conventions remain, and the individual is trained to conform, or he is destroyed. Or he may control his behavior according to conventions but cherish conflicting ideas and desires, perhaps to the serious injury of his mental health.

Anthropological and historical studies indicate that very severe and unnatural restrictions on behavior can be maintained without evident injury to the mental health of most of the group. In tribes where religion demanded human sacrifices, the prac-

tice was accepted even by the sacrificial victims and their families, and was often regarded as a special honor. Customs of shaping heads, waists, feet, of piercing ears, lips, or noses, of tattooing the skin, and of other painful processes, are continued without much opposition from individuals and apparently without mental conflicts.

In tribes where painful initiatory rites are practised at puberty there may be temporary conflicts in the minds of individual youths, but fear of ridicule or contempt if they fail to show courage and endurance, as well as the desire to be accepted as adult members of the group, usually overcome natural impulses without intense or prolonged internal conflicts.

In communities where there are severe and permanent restrictions or taboos on foods or on sex acts, there are more conflicts because natural desires continue and are opposed by the conventions. However, in many isolated groups, very strict conventions are maintained and apparently successfully adjusted to by the majority of the members. There is repression, but little conflict, because thoughts of acting otherwise do not arise, or at least are not fostered.

Where the group is not isolated and the conventions of adjacent groups are different, ideas arise of several different ways of behaving. Some of these are usually combated by the conscious teaching of those in authority, and conformity enforced by special punishments. Under such conditions there is likely to be a great deal of mental conflict in the minds of many members of the group. This raises the question whether the conflicts between individual impulses and conventions occur because of their opposition to each other, or whether they result from the means used in adjusting individuals to conventions.

Adjustments to conventions. In every group conventions that are uniformly followed by all members of the adult population will, as a rule, be adjusted to spontaneously and ultimately followed by the children as they reach maturity. Without out-

side contacts few if any individuals will even think of acting in different ways. A striking example of the influence of custom is reported by Dr. Ellsworth Faris who lived in an isolated African village where he found that there was no incorrect speech whatever. So consistent was the language of adults that a child would have to be an inventor of speech forms to use any other than the correct ones. In this same village he found no evidence of the *purposeful* use of punishment of children or of adults. A parent might get angry and slap a child as a natural impulsive action, but not with the conscious intention of making him adjust to conventions. Incidentally, of course, variations from conventions were thus often checked.

Such largely unconscious and only slightly voluntary adjustments of children to conventions do not produce conflicts. In contrast with this, in many civilized countries nearly all treatment of children is consciously directed toward inducing them to conform voluntarily to habits and conventions deemed good for them.

In many instances a child is made conscious of the difference between the action he would naturally take and the one demanded by convention by being told what he must *not* do. The emphasis upon kinds of acts not to be performed frequently arouses interest in them and excites the desire to perform such prohibited acts. Punishments, actual and threatened, render the action still more prominent. Mental conflict is then almost inevitable, and often prolonged, before the trend toward one or the other type of action is established.

This causes us to stop and think whether from the mental-hygiene standpoint the age-old method of parents, teachers, priests and rulers for securing conformity of children and subjects by precepts and punishments is psychologically and practically justified.

On the other hand, where contacts and communications with groups having different conventions are frequent, there is less

chance for the conduct of children to be unconsciously adjusted to the conventions being fostered by their elders. The problem of how to secure conformity and adjustment to necessary conventions then becomes acute.

It seems quite clear that interference is unwise whenever largely unconscious adjustments to desirable conventions are being effected. If *choice* of conventions is necessary, the adjustments must be more conscious and voluntary, yet undue intensification and prolongation of opposing purposes and efforts should be avoided.

Conditioning and learning. It has been the tradition that learning is always promoted by increase in voluntary attention. It is now known, however, that both learning and personality development are greatly influenced by experiences that condition one, without any conscious purpose or volition on his part, to modify his objective behavior and his mental attitude toward similar situations. By skilful manipulations of the environment and experiences of children and also, to a considerable extent, of adults, learning to adjust to conventions may progress gradually and surely, while the person is only slightly conscious of the educative changes being incidentally produced in him. In early childhood such spontaneous learning generally takes place much more rapidly than when adults try to induce voluntary effort on the child's part.

Voluntary adjustments are, of course, always influenced by previous conditioning experiences as well as by things previously learned consciously and intentionally. (This is the truth formerly expressed by the word *apperception*, and now suggested by *integration*.) Spontaneous behavior may be utilized in the adult's control of the environment and the situations met, instead of trying to secure similar conventional behavior by voluntary effort on the part of children. It is evident from what has been said previously about the development of voluntary control, that it is impossible to use the latter method with infants, and

that it cannot be used effectively later, except in doing things which the person has been prepared for doing by previous unwilling experiences. It is only through knowledge thus gained that one knows what "buttons" to push, or has any assurance that the mechanisms involved will work. The processes of maturing and learning give a basis for voluntary direction of one's actions; likewise the results of voluntary efforts modify previous habits and, when successful, greatly increase the power of voluntarily adjusting and learning. When these truths are intelligently applied, conformity to conventions, even though they restrict spontaneous impulses, may usually be brought about without producing mental conflicts.

Punishment and obedience. Conscious and unconscious conditioning are about equally positive and negative in character when there are no artificial rewards and punishments given. Negative conditionings, while helpful in preventing injuries and irritations, have the effect of decreasing the number of phases of environment reacted to. Positive conditionings, on the other hand, though not so immediately useful in preventing injuries, increase the number of contacts with the environment and consequently stimulate personality growth through new interests.

Punishment as used in home, school, and society has greatly increased negative conditioning, since it is much more generally given than rewards for positive acts. There are also many more possible ways of reacting to life situations than there are ways that are approved and efficient; hence to secure desirable modes of reacting by punishments involves negative conditioning to a great number of errors. Positive conditioning incidentally eliminates many errors while establishing the desired positive habits, and is therefore usually more efficient.

The conscious education and learning of children have been associated very generally with the practice of punishment for reactions contrary to directions and prohibitions given by adults.

Such punishment is likely to be regarded by the child as the personal reaction of the one in authority. When no person in authority is present, the child acts spontaneously and often experiences quite different results from those that come when the directing adult is present. On the basis of his own experience the child understands the natural impulse of an angered person to inflict pain on the offender. He learns to adjust to quick-tempered people as he does to other phases of his environment. It is hard for him to understand the infliction of pain by the one who professes to be acting for the good of the one punished. Without experience to the contrary, he sees no better reason why children should obey parents than that parents should obey children; but he may learn that it pays to obey any stronger person who consistently punishes, and later he may admit that this punishment kept him from unwise acts. The assertion that one person should command and another obey is not supported by the child's reason, except when its advantages are confirmed by experience.

It is difficult for an adult to maintain an attitude of love, and at the same time be an inflicter of pain; and it is still more difficult for a child to understand that such contradictory attitudes are genuine. Many of the punishments given by parents and teachers are really the result of irritations, and would better be recognized as such than camouflaged as acts of loving kindness or the God-given right to demand obedience. It is true, however, that a response to a child's act that gives him pain may so influence his future conduct as to be a real kindness to him. Experiences of this kind develop deference toward authority.

Punishment, whether inflicted because of irritation, loving foresight, or in support of a law, must be consistent and of a kind and degree to induce adjustment. If a small child is warned against going into the street and, when he does so, is grasped hard enough to produce pain, then brought back, he may be conditioned against going into the street. Later he may be more

definitely taught the danger of automobiles by the example of others when crossing the street, and by explanations. Punishments that are mild, incidental and informative may be understood as being kind rather than vindictive. The child gradually learns that society as represented by authorities resents certain kinds of acts by disapproval, and sometimes by acts that give him pain. Properly dealt with, children not only voluntarily adjust to the rules of the game on the playground, but also to the rules of school and the laws of society.

The more a child discerns the difference between punishments and the natural consequences of acts, the more he associates a punishment with the person rather than with the situation. By being slapped or otherwise hurt by an adult, he learns not to pull a cat's tail; but in the absence of adults he learns that if he treats the cat too roughly, he will get scratched. In one case he is learning how one adult responds to his acts and, perhaps incidentally, what the conventions require of every one. In the other case he is learning how his acts need to be adjusted to situations that his environment offers, regardless of personal punishments.

If the adult assumes the attitude that the child *must* be obedient to *him* regardless of everything else in the environing situation and punishes so discreetly as to maintain this authority, he at best develops only habits and attitudes of obedience to the standards of that person in all similar situations, but the child is left with little experience to guide or power to direct when his personal mentor is not present. He must then meet new situations without any knowledge of the real relations of acts and consequences.

When the child is without supervision part of the time, the contrast between the *natural* results of behavior and those artificially produced by personal punishment becomes prominent. This often causes conflict later in deciding what to do when no one in authority is present.

Severity and inconsistency in punishments develop habits and attitudes of resentment against all authority. If the one in authority is strong and severe, but either unwatchful or absent a great deal, the subject learns to evade punishment. Effective supervision and severe punishment often produces the dangerous condition of sullenness and resentment.

Psychological studies of animals show that learning may be hastened by punishments and rewards consistently given; for example, punishing a rat for taking one course through a maze and rewarding him for taking another course. It is found, however, that excessive punishment produces fright and renders learning impossible.

To be effective, rewards and punishments must not be too *long delayed*. When there is both delay and some uncertainty as to whether punishment will ever be inflicted, threats have little influence on conduct.

Light rewards and punishments given quickly and so inconspicuously as to seem to be the natural results of the action may condition learning without any of the unfortunate results of punishments given in conscious support of authority, and consciously obeyed. When the natural results of an act are distant and of necessity unknown to the child, early experiences with slight conditioning punishments may be of great value in influencing subsequent choices.

In view of the above considerations it may be questioned whether punishments *consciously* given and received are of real advantage in home, school, and society. It may also be questioned whether conscious obedience is in itself a virtue to be inculcated.

The above assertions do not oppose the development of countless habits and attitudes by conditioning. It is convenient and desirable in every way to have children conditioned and habituated to obey signals and to choose in accordance with ideals.

Permanent and consistent laws and conventions of society are

often accepted just as natural laws, with no thought of trying to change or evade them. Some conventions may be recognized as just as fixed portions of the environment as the pull of gravity, or the heat of fire, and may be adjusted to accordingly.

The natural order of development is not from conscious ideas of laws to their application in daily living, but from unconsciously conditioned habits and attitudes to conscious choices in accordance with ideals. Such development is integrative and is accomplished with few and temporary conflicts and repressions. The reverse process of directing conduct by abstract rules imposed from without, even if consistently followed until habits of conformity are developed, is sometimes like grafting something alien upon the personality.

It is true that at first acts may be performed by conscious effort and supervision, and later function automatically; but in a large proportion of cases this method produces conflicts, wastes time, and delays smooth functioning, as compared with methods that, with little or no stimulation of consciousness, give practice in responding to conditioning stimuli by satisfactory reactions. In complex manual learning, and generally when forming and using concepts, intensification of consciousness and voluntary attention to elements is helpful and necessary; when forming simple, useful, objective habits, it is well, especially in dealing with small children, to avoid calling attention to many of the elements involved in gaining ends. This truth is of transcendent importance in infancy and during the whole pre-school period. One noted educator who had a child in kindergarten said: "Whenever I find they are trying to *teach* him anything, I take him out of school."

The conscious attitudes of caretakers are often unintentionally influential. Highly intelligent mothers who know the importance of proper feeding, elimination, and sleeping often have more trouble with their children than ignorant mothers who have little time to devote to the care of their children. The latter child

adjusts to his own satisfactions without any conflicts while incidentally learning to be more conventional. The high-type mother is so anxious that her child shall quickly conform to conventions and form right habits that he reflects some of her emotional states without her intending it. Her methods of teaching are also likely to be based upon getting results by increasing conscious activities by means of approval and disapproval, rewards and punishments, instead of by unconscious conditioning and habituation. Consciousness is thus intensified by the attempt to hasten the formation of habits by inducing the child to act voluntarily. This often produces conflicts and actually delays the formation of the desired habits.

Positive action in forcing or inducing a child to act promptly in prescribed ways which are possible to him are, in general, less productive of permanent conflicting attitudes than milder attempts at coercion or bribing, which emphasize and prolong the contrast between what the child wants to do and what the parent desires. Contrasts and contests make a child realize too early that he has a will of his own, and, when prolonged, they give him practice in being wilful. If a child refuses to leave his playthings for a nap, he should not be coaxed or threatened for a long time, or pulled away while he struggles, but if necessary he should be picked up in a matter-of-fact way and prepared for bed while his attention is directed to the elements of the usual order of undressing. He is likely to learn to accept it as inevitable that the call to bed is followed by the necessary preparations. In general, if one activity is quickly replaced by another coördinated activity, desired habits may be formed and integrated with little conscious effort.

As they grow and mature, young animals and children naturally engage in activities of supplying their own wants. This development is often hastened by the weaning behavior of animal parents, and by refusals, encouragements, and direct teaching of human parents. In such cases there is little or no conscious

conflict, but often conscious effort on the part of the child to aid or to do the thing himself. Thus he may learn to eat, to dress himself, etc., in accordance with conventions instead of being helped or reminded by some one else.

In contrast to this, when a child is thwarted in realizing purposes suited to his stage of development and individual endowment, and artificially induced by blame, praise, punishments, and rewards to act in ways contrary to present interest, there is sure to be a good deal of conflict between purposes natural at the time and those required by society and by persons in authority. Such conflict is quite unfavorable to the development of an efficient, well integrated personality.

Early habit development. It has been shown by experiments that conditioned stimuli to food reaction (the sound of a buzzer) may be made effective within five days after the birth of an infant; and in one instance the writer saw evidence of conditioning to the sight of a spoon the second day. Habits may be formed by such unconscious conditioning not only in infancy but all through life. This method is to be preferred, especially before and during the time when the child is developing voluntary control of his limbs. Some habits are sure to be formed this way, whether any one intends it or not. By tactful conditioning, regular habits of eating, sleeping, elimination, and of reacting to the caretaker may be established as a foundation for healthy, happy personality development. Unwise treatment, on the other hand, may produce inharmonious functioning and habits of conflict with adults and with all conventions.

Eating habits are to a considerable extent the result of consistency and proper timing of conditioning stimuli. Food should be offered when the child is hungry but not too hungry, and the preparations for giving it are then stimuli not only to food-taking movements, but to the cessation of impatient movements of hands and vocal organs. If the interval between these conditioned stimuli and the actual giving of food is not too long,

the child will soon become conditioned to remain quiet until the preparations are finished. This interval may be gradually lengthened without the child becoming impatient. If, however, in the early stages of conditioning the interval is too long, the habit of fussing will be developed instead of remaining quiet. If it is very much prolonged, especially when the child is tired and hungry, the emotional reactions may be violent and may unfavorably affect the digestive processes. If this is followed by poor sleeping and renewed fussing, and more food is given too soon, a chronic state both of disharmony of functioning and of conflict with authority may develop.

The child who has already formed good food habits may easily be led gradually into the new ones associated with bottle, spoon, cup, and, later, knife and fork. The habits will thus be integrated instead of being separate and conflicting—a very important factor at this time when a conscious personality is developing.

Conventional food habits should be secured largely through unconscious conditioning, supplemented and furthered in positive ways by arousing conscious ideals of conduct. The child in the second and third years often has play or curiosity interests that divert him from eating activities to observing what people are doing, or to playing with his food instead of eating it. If he is sufficiently hungry, if the surroundings are not too diverting, and if there are definite conditioning stimuli of adjusting the food and himself, it is almost certain that he will eat when the food is offered.

If a child is interested in play, the call to eat should not be made when his activity will be most interfered with, since interference always arouses anger. It is often well to give a preliminary signal, and it is never well to prolong any act of forcing or coaxing him to change from playing to eating. At the proper time he should be put in position for eating and this activity started at once.

The kind and amount of food and the order of eating should be largely determined for him, but with due regard for his appetite. If suitable food is provided in varieties equally attractive and at proper intervals, the child may spontaneously learn to eat proper foods without conflict. Agriculturalists have found that if one trough in a hog pen is provided with food adapted to meet all the requirements of adult swine and another with food meeting all the needs of growing pigs, each takes the food adapted to his bodily needs. In a recent experiment a variety of well selected food was placed before children, and they were allowed to eat according to their choices as much as they wanted. Their diet over a period of a week proved to be well balanced.

In many other situations of life the natural wisdom of children in their stage of development should receive recognition, instead of being ignored and the supposed wisdom of a later age more or less forcibly substituted. Adult wisdom should not be a compelling force but a kindly light, revealing to the young future possibilities suggestive of helpful experiences.

The transition from being fed to feeding self should be gradual and kept quite separate from play with spoon, knife, or dishes. Development of success in handling eating utensils should be the principal aim, with neatness as an incidental evidence of success; whereas conforming to conventions should be the outcome that is not too much emphasized. The child does not naturally care if the table-cloth and his own clothes are soiled, but if avoiding spilling food is assumed to be part of the task he has undertaken to perform in place of his caretaker, he may learn to be careful without any conscious conflict.

Sleeping habits, like those of eating, may be developed early by unconscious conditioning. If a child is bathed, fed, and then put down to sleep with some conditioning stimuli such as being cuddled and kissed, laid in a certain position, covered, and given a final pat, and he goes to sleep, he will do so again if the same formula is followed. After a few times, intervals between pro-

cesses may be increased and parts of the sleep-conditioning situation eliminated or varied until he may be induced to sleep at a different hour in a strange house, and even by a different person, if the essential elements of the conditioning situation are retained. If one of a series of conditioning incidents is changed, the desired result may not follow. If the bath water is cold or the dressing delayed, the conflict may arise later in connection with feeding, and this may interfere with sleeping.

When the child has developed only the slightest power of voluntary control, he may be dealt with in such a way as to be what is called a "good baby" or a "naughty baby." Later these words help as conditioning stimuli to confirm him in the types of behavior thus designated.

Bathing and dressing involve the foundation of conventional habits. When a child reaches for the faucet, the soap, or the cloth, and is suddenly and frequently interfered with by the person giving the bath, he is likely to develop habits of anger reactions and of voluntary effort to realize his own ends contrary to what is most convenient to the person in charge. When being dressed, he also often tries to get things that he wants, and may become very coöperative or very antagonistic depending on whether he has been managed in such a way that if his voluntary efforts are interfered with, it is only a moment until he has the satisfaction of being free to do as he wishes.

If properly dealt with, the child will refrain from his own activities for longer and longer periods or will actively attempt parts of the process of dressing himself. He thus becomes interested in the ends desired by the caretaker, and coöperative in realizing them.

During the stages of rapid development in an ever-widening environment before and soon after entering school, there are infinite numbers of experiences of possible conflicts between child ways of acting and the conventions upheld by adults. Continual "don'ts," especially if they *follow* acts already performed and

are enforced by punishments to prevent repetitions, increase the number of conscious conflicts and intensify and prolong them.

Surroundings and situations in which the child may engage in whatever activities he wishes without injury to self or objects of value should be provided a considerable part of the time. At other times, and especially when conventions are involved, care in directing behavior should be exercised so as to develop habits and attitudes favoring coöperation and conformity. A child may thus be adjusted to conventions with little conscious effort on his part. Not all conflicts may be avoided, but they may sometimes be shortened and minimized by ignoring negative acts and inducing immediate positive action.

Social adjustments. Adults behave, not as little children do, but according to adult conventions or individual adult purposes or habits. Their responses are, therefore, quite different from the natural responses that children make to those of their own age. A child who tries to deal with his companions as adults deal with each other does not get along well with them.

If left to make his own adjustments, the child finds that aggressive acts on his part call forth opposing acts in companions (if they are his equals); on the other hand, friendly advances are met in kind, and he gradually learns to make some sort of satisfactory adjustment of his own desires, present and future, to those of his playmates. Adults who intervene sometimes help children to find ways of acting that are mutually satisfactory, but often they merely make children more acutely conscious of what is called "polite" and "impolite," or "selfish" and "unselfish," acts. The personality is not integrated by acting in one way while desiring to act in another, but by acting in a way that will, on the whole, bring more present and future satisfactions than any other course, and hence is taken whole-heartedly and without regrets. Children themselves form conventions to guide individuals in adjusting their behavior, but may be aided by adults in the formulation of the "rules of games."

After a child passes the helpless stage in which adults supply his needs, he may more or less consciously act so as to make other people serve him even when he is able to do the things himself. Sometimes he becomes expert in inducing others to do as he wishes, either by artful coaxing or by temper tantrums. His partial helplessness is used as a means of ruling a household to its disadvantage, and in ways that partly unfit him for objective achievement or for dealing with people outside of the home. In school such children frequently run to the teacher with complaints or calls for help.

Sometimes parents and teachers insist that the child do instantly what is commanded, and according to adult methods and standards. The child, wanting to do something else, does as little as he can of what is commanded while trying to achieve ends of his own. This is quite unfavorable to the integrating adjustment so necessary to efficient, wholesome development of personality. Whole-hearted obedience is more healthful, even though actuated by fear of punishment.

When associating with older persons, there is need for some consistent policy so that the child will not find it impossible or unsatisfactory to adjust his own conduct to their wishes while realizing his own ends. Sometimes this is done continuously, but more often by temporarily neglecting his own affairs while doing what is desired by those in authority. In any case it is a part of life's training to learn to adjust to older persons and to conventions of society.

The experience of adjusting to younger persons is valuable, especially as a preparation for parenthood. The way in which a child adjusts to those who are younger is very likely to be of the same general character as he has observed and experienced: for example, to coax, to threaten, or to use force.

There is most need and occasion for adjustments to equals, hence it is desirable that as early as two or three years, children shall have some companionship with those of their own age

without too much supervision by adults; after six years such association is almost a necessity.

If kittens and puppies are spirited enough to resent too rough treatment but not likely to inflict serious injury, play with them is a good substitute for, and supplement to, companionship with other children, because it compels the same sort of recognition of the wishes of others when trying to accomplish one's own purposes. Imaginative control of objects or imaginative companions gives less training for real life situations.

Adjusting to sex conventions in childhood. In our country the conventions forbid the appearance of unclothed persons in public, also acts of elimination, acts of sex, etc. Discussions or references to such acts and the organs associated with them are also largely prohibited. These conventions may or may not be so closely followed in the home, but the child must conform to whatever conventions are observed in the home, and be trained so he can adjust to the stricter conventions he meets outside of the family.

To the child, every part of the body of self and of others is likely to be of interest, and the same is true of physiological acts. Such interest is natural and need not be repressed, but the child may be trained to conform to conventions in act and speech without making him feel that any of his interests are disgusting or wrong, but are merely out of place in certain situations. This can be done most effectively by gradual development of habits of adjusting clothing in proper ways, eliminating only under certain conditions, and talking of such things only to suitable persons and at proper times. It is better for adults to take little notice of the "breaks" made in public by children a few years old, than, by strong reproof or confused manner, to make the child feel that his actions or words were disgusting or wrong, or even that they were queer.

To follow this policy when a child of three manifests interest in his sex organs, or when one a little older is interested in seeing

the body of others, especially one of the opposite sex, is rather difficult for many parents, brought up as they have been. Inquiries about babies are also often disconcerting. In all such cases, however, the interest of the child about such things is just as natural and genuine as interest in a watch, or in what makes snow; and questions should be answered just as readily and truthfully. The answers should be completely satisfying for the time being and, whenever there is renewed interest, should be supplemented by such further explanation as will aid in assimilating his knowledge of sex with other affairs of life, instead of being made to seem something apart and mysterious.

If, as often happens, the child discovers that the sex organs may be manipulated in such a way as to produce pleasure, the parent is likely to be greatly disturbed and takes such strenuous action as to initiate a life-long conflict between natural desires and conventions. If the parent knows that some such masturbatory practices on the part of children are common, usually harmless, and often temporary, he should be able to act in ways that will not give them a prominent place in the child's consciousness. He will remove predisposing causes such as need for elimination, or the irritation of dirt or clothing, or undue warmth of parts, and will provide interesting objects and activities to occupy the child's attention.

At a later stage, especially if not properly dealt with in the preceding stage, children may use "dirty" language or engage in sex activities with others of their own or of the opposite sex. Such acts indicate the need for definite teaching as to the age of person, and with whom sex acts are to be performed, and for unobtrusive but positive changes in companionships, interests, and activities. It should be remembered that, although the drive to engage in sex acts is subject to development before adolescence, it is in itself not then naturally strong. Excessive interest in sex on the part of children may be either the result

of special experience and practice, or of repressions. Lonesomeness and a lack of interest in anything else may make sex activities interesting. With plenty of interesting activities and suitable companions, sex actions rarely persist in childhood.

Adjusting to adolescent and adult sex conventions. Among all tribes and peoples sex conduct is regulated more or less strictly by conventions and laws. The most universal laws are those against incest. These are often nearly as strict against marrying members of the same clan as against the marrying of brothers and sisters, or of parents and children. These rules usually, but not always, prohibit sex relations with persons with whom marriage is illegal.

Other restrictions on sex activities are sometimes the same for both sexes, but more frequently apply chiefly to females. There are always occasional persons in every group who violate sex conventions or suffer in personality development because of repressions, but these are not as usual among savages as in most civilized countries.

This is not merely because conventions are more numerous and more strict in civilized communities but for other reasons. The impossibility for early marriage by large numbers of persons, thus producing the repressions at a time when the sex urge is strongest, is one. Another reason is that there are in most civilized communities many associated conventions that interfere with learning how to adjust sex problems and activities with other phases of living. Of these, secrecy in all things relating to sex activities is most influential.

The conventions of eating (use of knife, fork, napkins, waiting to be served, etc.) are readily acquired by observation and imitation, and involve only temporary repressions. When in doubt, there is no difficulty about consulting some one who knows. When such conventions are violated, the social disapproval is mild but sufficient. The conventions that require se-

crecy, and that prohibit any frank discussion of sex with persons of experience and authority, make it impossible for youths to learn how to adjust from example, and almost so by inquiry.

The disapproval given for violating sex conventions in either word or deed is usually so strong as to excite fear and curiosity, two of the strongest urges in life. Curiosity strongly supports the sex urge, whereas fear, both physical and social, often increased by religion, is the powerful repressive agent that renders conflict inevitable. Under such conditions it is not strange that violations of sex conventions in our civilization are quite numerous, and that a large proportion of those who do conform are hampered in one way or another in adjusting their ideals, desires, and practices to the social conventions relative to sex.

The sexual adjustment of two individuals socially unhampered in any way by conventions is a more complex process than the adjustment of one person to food and danger situations, or of two persons to each other when working or playing together. With these difficulties increased by social conventions, it is not strange that there are more personality disorders traceable to sex than to any other impulse that conventions are intended to regulate.

Less strict conventions would not remove all difficulties. Facilities for learning how to adjust sex and other desires to each other and to conventions are in any case needed. There must be more opportunity for gaining knowledge of sex by observation, free inquiry, and helpful instruction.

The positive attitude toward sex as an important and valuable phase of living, rather than the negative one of secrecy and condemnation, is needed. If arrangements are made for young people to meet frequently in classes, societies, in play, work, and in social affairs where interests other than sex dominate, and where the general conduct is regulated by conventions, the sex drive, though present, will in many ways be adjusted naturally

to other activities. The more varied and intense the youth's interests, especially when in contact with the other sex, the less likely it is that sex urges will become dominant and prove stronger than conventions.

To what extent this positive attitude toward sex and the provision of sex contacts in connection with a variety of other activities may be supplemented by sex instruction in the home and school depends greatly upon how well adjusted sexually the instructors are, and only in part upon the helpful nature of the truths imparted.

Not as much help *can* be given as in teaching about food and exercise because knowledge of the physiology and especially of the psychology of sex is far less well established than in the case of dietetics, digestion, and physical exercise.

Truths of psychology are much more important in harmonizing conventions with the purposes and activities of adolescents and adults than those of physiology. The psychology of sex is more complex and includes many truths that seem to contradict each other. The sex urge that insures the survival of the species cannot be healthily suppressed, but it may be regulated and in part diverted into other channels—sublimated—and adjusted to other life activities, if what is now known of sex psychology is utilized.

Any individual of the opposite sex and sometimes one of the same sex (even self) may serve as a stimulus and produce some satisfaction, but, on the other hand, the sex impulse is very highly selective and subject to very strong individual conditioning, so that only one person of the opposite sex, at least for a time, serves as an effective stimulus and gives complete satisfaction. Again, a new individual is stimulating, yet early conditioning to one may be permanent. Various loves intensify and broaden life, whereas one love gives it stability and security with freedom to realize other permanent and mutually satisfy-

ing ends. It also eliminates competition for new loves and disturbances induced by pangs of jealousy and difficulties of severing old ties.

The importance of these psychological truths is not the same at all ages. Sex impulses are strongest in adolescence, yet conditioning to one mate, and separation and reconditioning to another, may be accomplished then without producing permanent disharmonies. In later life, however, such changes are more disruptive and the satisfactions of security are much greater.

Individuals differ, some inclining toward permanent sex and social security as a background for vocational and avocational interests, others keeping sex in the foreground and seeking its thrills as the gambler seeks those of taking chances, regardless of how it affects one's future possibilities.

Sexual and parental activities are now less closely and inevitably associated with each other than formerly, because of increased knowledge of birth control, yet parental desires can probably never be completely satisfied except by means of an agreeable sex partnership continued for a considerable time.

Such truths as these may be helpful to a member of the new generation seeking to adjust his sex activities to all phases of living. The individual's relations to society play an important part in the psychology of sex behavior. On the one hand, the individual is in conflict with society if he goes contrary to its conventions, and this means much in his own development; on the other hand, society is benefited by his wise adjustments.

Adjustment of ideals to social standards. The minor conventions of daily living for every one should be, and are, readily adjusted to with little or no conscious effort. When this has been done with satisfactory results, the individual is usually predisposed to adjust his consciously chosen ways of living to the generally accepted ideals of his group at the time. On the other hand, if the minor conventions have been opposed, evaded, or resented, the individual is predisposed against the ideals of

his people. The opposite extremes of advocating everything that has been, and is, or of holding that everything is wrong and must be changed, are in part the result of conforming or conflicting reactions to conventions during childhood and youth. The progressive attitude of accepting much of the old and improving upon it is more likely to be developed in individuals who have adjusted in each stage of development to conventions, but have adopted new standards and ideals, as they have approximated those previously held.

One of the first conventions to be adjusted to is that of conforming to the standards set by adults for persons of the same age as self. The more one is thwarted in his purposes, or unsuccessful in his achievements, the more does he wish that he might have the privileges or powers of persons of some other age. The more his subordinate position is balanced by helpful care, the better satisfied he is at the time with his present existence. In the home it is not unusual for children differing by about three or four years in age to be jealous of the advantages, indulgences, responsibilities, or successes the others enjoy by reason of age. The dissatisfactions are usually greater when the two are not of the same mental ability, or when one has the reputation of being smart or good, and the other of being stupid or bad. It is in the interest of good mental hygiene that in each stage, desires shall be adjusted to the conventions of that period.

Sometimes, especially during adolescence, there are sudden changes in desires and ideals of the youth as well as in the conventions to which he is expected to conform; these changes produce a condition of uncertainty or conflict. The formerly conforming youth may become a rebel or an idealist, or the defier of conventions become an overconscientious conformer to rules. Such changes at adolescence do not make ultimate integration of personality impossible but are likely to do so if there is a long period of uncertainty of ideals, or if the change occurs after maturity is reached.

In every society there are different practical and ideal conventions for each sex. In whatever age or place one lives, sex conventions are applied to nearly every phase of living. These always apply to clothing, often to food conventions, and in most, to the kind of activities engaged in during peace and war. In most groups sex restrictions are not the same, and each sex has a different place in games, festivals, and religious ceremonies. Frequently the rights to property, and to control of one's own person, are chiefly confined to males.

Some individuals are disturbed for years because conventions require that they shall live the life of one sex, when that of the other seems to them much more desirable. The able and aggressive girl often finds it difficult to adjust her ideals and her activities to the ways of life marked out by nature and emphasized by convention. The more delicate submissive youth sometimes has difficulty in adjusting to the conventions and ideals applying to the masculine sex. In both cases, it is of advantage to the individual to adjust to, rather than to fight against, the inescapable fact of having to live the life of a boy and man, or of a girl and woman, as the case may be.

It is not so certain that one should conform fully to the ideals and conventions for each sex in his particular civilization. Usually it is, but endowment and interest may be such that self-realization and usefulness to society may be better realized by a member of one sex adopting a way of life, especially in vocational lines, usually regarded by his people as suitable for the other. In recent times the tendency is for the conventions to become the same in many ways for the two sexes. This diminishes conflicts with sex conventions, but, if these are made exactly the same, may add to the conflict between the unconscious biological forces of each sex and some of the common conventions. It is of advantage to every individual to settle definitely the extent to which individual desires and ideals shall be modified to harmonize with the fact of being a male or a female, and the

extent of conformity to conventional practices and ideals of one's own sex.

In most civilizations one is born a member of a certain tribe, clan, or family belonging to a recognized social class. This always means that one has the rights, privileges, and duties of his class and is expected to conform to its conventions and ideals. Failure to do so brings disapproval that may result in ostracism or persecution. When one's position is not definitely fixed but has been determined by his chosen vocation or by his achievements in society, there are special privileges, but also special restrictions of conduct to which he is expected to conform.

The greatest difficulties are offered when people of the same social group are of different races, as in many parts of the United States, or of distinct classes, as in India. The half-breed in nearly all civilizations has a difficult rôle to play. Nearly as difficult is the rôle of an Oriental born and reared in an occidental civilization, whose ideals and conventions he adopts, but who is not accepted in one civilization because of his race, nor in the other because of his ideals and habits.

In modern civilization, in which there are facilities for travel and communication, there are frequent contacts with widely differing conventions. Some individuals try to maintain their local and class conventions whereas others are quick to adjust to the conventions of the group in which they find themselves. Others consciously decide to adhere to certain chosen conventions and essential ideals, while adjusting temporarily to local ones without friction or resentment.

This means that in the modern life of adolescents and adults there must be a great deal more conscious adjustment of ideals and practices than when there was association almost wholly with one group and its conventions.

In making conscious adjustments the teachings of religion often seem to be in conflict with other teachings. In general, religion is founded on a way of life associated with traditions and

authoritative beliefs, whereas science is based on facts gained by observation and experimentation. A childhood of consistent, contented obedience to authority maintained by religious ideals and practices develops a personality easily adjusted to the fundamental conventions of the past. A childhood of acting in ways that give the greatest satisfaction to all concerned, with the attitude of seeking the best life adjustments by the help of experience of self and others, is likely to be less disturbed by changing ideals and practices.

Arts of all kinds have their conventions and ideals. These are often accepted and adjusted to without question by artists and writers. But there are always some who revolt against these ideals and practices, though only a few of the greater ones are able to convince their fellow artists or the general public that something different may be more admirable or inspiring.

The highest degrees of success in many vocations, other than those regarded as distinctly artistic, are attained only by the attempt to adjust to ideals that are in advance of ordinary successful achievement. Many of those holding these higher ideals cannot bring their achievements much, if any, above the ordinary. They are often quite unhappy because of their refusal to accept conventional ideals and their inability to realize their own ideals. In the interest of personality development it is desirable that some sort of working adjustment be made. This is sometimes done by producing "pot-boilers" when necessary, and striving to reach their own ideals at other times.

It is not possible to develop a strong, well integrated personality either by conscious or unconscious adjustments to conventions, or to one's own desires. To grow vigorously and consistently, one must be guided in one or more ways by *ideals of something more worth while and lasting than society's conventions or personal pleasures*. These ideals or dominating purposes may be associated with achievements in art, science, religion, politics, moral reforms, business principles, or the

security or advancement of any society or group with which one identifies himself. The words to the rich young man, "Sell all thou hast . . . and come and follow me" may be paraphrased by mental hygienists into, "Sacrifice (or use) any or all of your present self while following your vision, and thus you shall attain an ever more vigorous life."

CASE I.—When Anne was very small, the mother always covered her with a little blue blanket as she put her down to sleep. She was a model child so far as regular habits were concerned. She would go to sleep at once without an older person staying with her.

When she was two, the mother was trying to get her to sleep without the blue blanket which was getting old and faded. Anne refused to sleep in winter or summer without "Banny," as she called the blanket, being tucked in securely. Several times her mother had taken it from her bed, but Anne had spent the day hunting for it until, to pacify her, the mother would return it to her bed when bedtime came.

The blanket was still in use when the mother was called away from home for several weeks last spring. During the mother's absence Anne stayed with a friend of the family who had been a trained nurse before her marriage, a woman of whom Anne was very fond.

The mother and her friend decided that, since Anne was in new surroundings, this would be a good opportunity to banish "Banny," which had gone along with her to her new home. The blanket was packed away in the friend's attic. When bedtime came, a hectic scene occurred; Anne finally fell asleep exhausted from crying for the blue blanket. The same scene occurred for three or four nights, then Anne ceased crying for "Banny," but the well regulated sleep habits that were so well established vanished. Anne never again mentioned "Banny," and her family assumed that she had forgotten about the blanket.

I visited at the home this summer. The mother tried for about an hour to get Anne to take an afternoon nap, but finally gave up and decided to put her to bed early that night. At night it took further argument to get her to bed. After putting her to bed the mother had to make three or four trips upstairs, for Anne would get up and play about the room.

The mother feels that her friend the nurse ruined Anne's good

habits while she was staying with her, but it has never occurred to her to connect the banishment of "Banny" with the mental and physical disturbance the child goes through every time bedtime comes.

CASE 2.—Benjamin will be fifteen years of age next January. He is an honor student in the 9A grade, but he cannot talk. There is nothing the matter with Benjamin's vocal cords, according to reports of the doctors who have examined him. In fact, he *can* talk when he does it unthinkingly. He can read out loud if some one else is reading aloud with him, but if the other person stops, Benjamin cannot continue. He is anxious to recite and always has something he wants to say. He usually knows the answers to questions and wants to talk. He does not like to be slighted and not called upon, but as soon as he starts to reply his face goes through all sorts of contortions, and you can see the effort he is making. This year he seems to be getting worse and sometimes the beads of perspiration stand out on his face.

The other day in French class the teacher repeated several times some grammatical rule, and then suddenly called on Benjamin to repeat it. He stood and said it perfectly without hesitation. In surprise the teacher said, "Why, Benjamin, did you realize that you talked without effort or error that time?" Benjamin finally made her understand that he knew he did—"I did it without thinking." That seems to be the difficulty, the thinking part of his brain has no co-ordination with the vocal cords when he wishes to speak.

He is the same with his playmates or at home as he is in school. He has been taken to doctors in Boston, but they have not been able to help him.

CASE 3.—John had an ungovernable temper and had formed the habit of running home whenever he had a tantrum. The first time he had a tantrum in my presence, he learned that no one would call him or go after him, so he came back. He cried and sobbed the rest of the session. The next morning we had an understanding—he was to run to his seat instead of home.

Once the children made slings like David's. John's lasted longer than any one else's, but when his broke and they said his was no better than theirs, he reached down for a handful of stones. The other children ran for cover, and I shouted, "Run for the schoolhouse." He did this and then burst into sobs and tears.

The next day we decided whenever he felt like destroying everybody and everything he could come into the shed and bang chunks of

wood around until his temper was relieved, but that he must pile them back again. Three times he tried this but the last time, when I came to the door, he laughed and said, "What a fool I am." I have seen him get angry at his brother since then, but never in a wholesale way.

CASE 4.—A little girl of ten years, very bright and capable, who had always had a nursemaid, said she did not wish to have the maid any longer (when she went to her summer home in the mountains) for she was too old. The parents consented, and the child who had never been a night alone in her room found it was not so pleasant. However, after having boasted that she was never afraid and that she wished to sleep alone, she did not want to give in.

The child was left many times not only alone in her room, but alone in the house until eleven or twelve o'clock. Not being able to sleep, she developed the habit of auto-erotism.

When she went back at the close of the season, the nursemaid found this out and punished her severely. Later in the year the child's teacher became aware of the practice but did nothing about it until a visiting teacher from Columbia University who was studying psychiatry questioned the classroom teacher about this child. The next day the teacher made some threats to the child and stated that she would expel her from the school if this practice continued.

The mother of this girl, on finding that she had very low marks in deportment, went to the teacher to inquire about the reason. She was told just what the trouble was and then followed much ado and great excitement about it all. By this time the child was quite worried and told the sympathetic psychiatrist to whom the mother took her that she was so different from other people, she knew she was just no good, and no matter what was done for her she was never going to amount to anything.

The psychiatrist, however, assured her that her problem was not at all serious and that it could be easily overcome if she did as she was directed and tried hard to help. This child was very amenable to the treatment and soon overcame the habit entirely. She did not mind confessing a slip now and then until it was forgotten altogether.

This girl is now standing the highest in her class, rides horseback (takes all the prizes), plays and sings well, and is happy and normal.

CASE 5.—During my second year of teaching in V—— school I had one problem which I thought was serious. Several of the smaller pupils in the third and fourth grades were engaging in sex practices.

Just as soon as recess came they would hurry out-of-doors around to the back of the school. With the aid of an older pupil, a girl in the eighth grade, I was able to discover this.

I called them in, talked with them, gained their confidence and found that their older brothers and sisters had told them about these things. Since these older children had left school, I could not say anything to them. Through our conversation I gained their promise not to indulge in sex practices, nor to talk about it at school or anywhere else. They asked me questions that I answered in the best way I knew how, and in a way I thought would help them.

This school had two rooms and two teachers. With the aid of the other teacher we planned to have one teacher stay in front of the playground and the other stay in the back of the playground. There was a rule that no one could stay in the building at recess unless excused by the teachers. As a result, these sex practices were ended. These youngsters entered into the games and seemed to be more happy, contented, and satisfied. This was done in October and we had no more trouble the rest of the year. I've been told since by the girl in whom I had confided that it has not been carried on so far this year.

CASE 6.—The first year I taught school I had a great deal of trouble with the pupils throwing spitballs. Since I didn't believe in keeping them in at recess, giving them extra school work, nor in giving them the ruler, I had to find some other way to stop this. After several futile attempts, I thought of the following plan.

Each child whom I caught throwing spitballs was asked to write his name on the blackboard. That night, when the others were dismissed, I asked those pupils to remain in their seats and to throw spitballs at each other as long as they liked. They certainly had an enjoyable time and entered into it whole-heartedly. At the end of a half hour they decided they had thrown enough. They hadn't wasted any time in doing this as each one tried to outdo the other.

I then told them that as soon as they had picked up every spitball they had thrown, they were dismissed. After that I had no more trouble of that nature.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. Children learn to use the oral language of their companions with little effort simply as a means of adjusting to the people around them. Could the same methods be used in learning the written lan-

guage if people communicated in that way, or is it absolutely necessary to have children learn the elements of written language by voluntary effort?

2. In an isolated community where conventions were followed but never taught, would they be followed by the children as they grew up?

3. Is voluntary adjustment to conventions usually more necessary in family life, or in the life outside the family? Are non-voluntary adjustments ever interfered with by visiting in another home?

4. Discuss fully the advantages and disadvantages of authoritative punishment in the home, in school, and in society.

5. In organizations of all sorts composed of equals, are artificial punishments common or rare? Is it wise, in adopting a constitution and by-laws, to make many provisions regarding punishments that may be inflicted?

6. When you have ostensibly been punished "for your own good," has the punishment in any or all instances proved valuable to you?

7. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of obedience, (*a*) as a duty, or (*b*) as an habitual or conditioned reaction.

8. When punished, have you usually felt the act was personal or impersonal? Why?

9. Discuss the comparative effectiveness of light punishments quickly and surely given, and of severe punishments less immediate and certain.

10. In arithmetic rules are no longer memorized first, then practised. Should there be the same change in methods of getting conformity to conventions? Why?

11. Is the success of teachers directly or inversely correlated with their fears that the children will not behave? Why?

12. Give examples of prolongation of conflicts with conventions, and indicate how they might have been shortened.

13. Which is the more fortunate, a child of one to three years (*a*) in continual charge of an efficient nurse always on the job, or (*b*) one that is left to his own devices half of the time?

14. Report observations on (*a*) the eating habits of a number of children from one to five years of age and the methods used by the caretakers, and (*b*) the sleeping habits.

15. What should a child of four be expected to do in the way of dressing himself?

16. Is it a good thing for older persons to treat children as nearly as possible as they treat equals? Reasons?

17. Give instances of wise and of unwise attempts to get observance of sex conventions from (a) small children, (b) from adolescents.

18. In your own case do you think that your ideals largely grew (a) incidentally out of the habits and interest you developed, (b) out of the observed behavior of others, (c) out of the behavior of others you read about, or (d) out of definite, intentional teaching?

19. Do you know of persons who are (a) not well integrated because they are not willing to conform to the conventional behavior for their sex, age, or condition in life, (b) who are well integrated and stronger for refusal to conform?

20. Describe the difficulties of half-breeds or half-castes. Do children whose parents have greatly differing religious beliefs ever have similar difficulties?

21. Give examples of artists, writers, and reformers who were or were not well adjusted when trying to go contrary to conventions.

22. Discuss Case 1, and, if you know of similar ones, describe them.

23. In Case 2 is the boy likely to be benefited by stimulating him to voluntary effort or by getting him to talk spontaneously?

24. In what ways was the treatment used in Case 3 wise or unwise?

25. Discuss the treatments used in Cases 4, 5, and 6, and compare with what you have observed done in similar incidents.

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CHAPTER XI

MENTAL HEALTH NORMS

All judgments of the mental health of individuals and of the value of mental-hygiene prescriptions must be made by comparison with mental-hygiene standards. It is therefore worth while to restate and discuss some of these norms from this point of view.

Likeness to others. As has been previously pointed out, all human beings are alike, and every one is different. The likeness is greatest between those of the same age and sex and of the same social groups. To be like others is a universal and strong desire, yet in many persons there is also an impulse to be individual or different, though all like to think themselves superior in some respect. Being like others is, in general, consistent with mental health of individuals, though not necessarily essential to the development of a vigorous, influential personality. Up to a certain point being different is consistent with the development of a vigorous personality, but the greater the difference from companions in one or in many traits, the greater the probability of lack of harmony of those traits, and of lack of adjustment to other persons. The first indication of possible mental ill health of an individual is that he is becoming increasingly different from others, or "queer." The safe general policy in all such cases is to change the surroundings or the voluntary actions of the individual so as to make him increasingly like others in all essential human behavior, while allowing him to adjust to life in his individual way.

Approximation to age standards. In applying the principles of healthful likeness to others the truth expressed by the phrase "Be your age" should be recognized. Each stage is char-

acterized by certain development tendencies, interests, attitudes and abilities; and an approximation to these at the appropriate time is in general favorable to mental health. Any influence that tends to produce behavior suitable to persons much older or much younger is not favorable to healthy development of the personality.

Variations from the usual are most often shown in an unhealthy way by the persistence of more or less infantile modes of behavior, such as dependence upon others, acting for the present rather than the future, or lack of continuity of effort. Sometimes it is shown by either occasional or progressive regression to activities suitable to an earlier stage.

Sudden advance to behavior characteristics of a much later stage of development may also interfere with the successful integration of the whole of one's life, especially if one attempts later to live out the omitted stage of behavior.

The age that one should be is usually measured and indicated by age in years, but from the standard of mental hygiene maturity age should sometimes be substituted. If a child is one or more years advanced in most physical and mental traits, it is healthful for him to approximate the standards set for persons a year or more older. If he is one or more years below his age in most mental and physical traits, then mental health will be promoted by having him approximate the standards for those a year or more younger than he.

When a child is inferior to those of his own age in some traits and superior in others, the probabilities of mental ill health are great, and the problem of setting standards that are individually healthy for him is difficult. Biological and social standards of those of his own age should be approximated, while making adjustments in the direction of maintaining higher standards for the stronger traits, and lower ones for the weaker traits. A talented musician, for example, with little athletic ability should associate much with those of his own age, but should approxi-

mate higher standards in music and lower standards in athletics than are usually expected of persons of his age in years. Mental health will be indicated and promoted by having most of his environment and activities the same as for other persons of his years, but somewhat different in lines in which he is above or below average in special attainments.

This means that while being judged by, and held to, the development age of the individual, which in the absence of proof to the contrary is assumed to be that of one's years, there should be some recognition of individual standards in special lines where variations are shown. These individual traits are based only in part upon original endowment; and a treatment that exaggerates, rather than decreases, their differences from the usual is dangerous to mental health, whereas the opposite treatment in moderation is favorable. Any attempt to bring an individual quickly to normal standards in all respects, such as making him spend most of his time in strengthening his weakest traits while being deprived of using his strongest, is likely to produce conflicts, internal or external, or both, that are unfavorable to mental health and to vigorous personality development. On the other hand, special talents should not be cultivated exclusively.

In Samoa a good state of mental health is generally secured by the social system that makes all except mere infants subject to some direction by older persons while at the same time each assumes responsibility for those younger than himself. Much of the time, however, each associates with a group of his own age and conforms to the generally accepted social ideal of "Be your age." Attempts to surpass that standard are frowned upon as much as are failures to reach it. In such a social order competition plays a small part, since high rank as compared with others of the same age or class does not meet with approval. Advance in age and promotion to an official position is regarded as involving new responsibilities rather than as signifying special rewards or

honors. Margaret Mead's survey, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, revealed few persons having a sense of failure or having ambitions unsatisfied.

Such a social order is stable and is favorable to the general mental health of its members. In America where competition is encouraged and emphasized by high rewards, strong characters achieve more than they otherwise would, and progress is promoted. This in part justifies our highly stimulating national life. Mental hygienists, however, must continue to emphasize the importance to mental health of medium standards attained without excessive effort, and of the ideal "Be your age." They do not necessarily oppose the practice of persons of ability striving to rise above the station in which they were born.

Adjusting socially. Social intercourse, especially with those of one's own age and stage of development, is one of the best indications of mental health, as well as one of the best means of maintaining or restoring it. A well integrated individual who is shut off from companionship with others *may* remain in mental health, especially if he associates mentally with others; but most prisoners or hermits who live solitary lives become queer, and many of them definitely insane. Any individual who increasingly avoids companions, or who shows an increasing tendency to jealousy or quarrelsomeness, is getting into an unhealthy mental state. Limiting association to one sex or to a single companion, or associating only with older or with younger persons, is in a less degree unfavorable to mental health, though much association with equals is favorable.

The character of the adjustments is of some, though of less, significance. A person who seeks to dominate others all the time may develop antisocial qualities, whereas the one who continually imitates and submits lacks vigor; and it may be that neither one is fitted for coöperation with others. It is favorable to individual health, as well as to social health, for persons to have experiences of leading and dominating, of following and submit-

ting, of competing and coöperating. This is normally possible and probable in associating with those of one's age who differ in special abilities, although it is favored by some association with older and with younger persons.

Interests and happiness. To be interested in what most human beings, especially those of one's own age, are interested in, and to show the usual type and degree of emotion, is healthful. Most persons are interested in food, sex, what other persons are doing, some of the phenomena of nature, being comfortable, dangerous situations, constructing, thinking, etc., and on occasions they show fear, anger, joy, grief, love, pity, and in about the same degree that others do. An individual who shows a lack of such interests is regarded as queer, and is likely to become more and more out of adjustment with those of his own kind.

If one has little or no interest in anything, the personality life is low, and he needs both physical and mental stimulation. If his interest is highly specialized in one field, there is danger, not only of a narrowed existence, but that activities necessary to physical and mental health will be repressed and that social contacts will be diminished so much that individuality will be increased to the point of causing serious distortion of the personality. A considerable degree of specialization in one line is favorable to the development of a high degree of knowledge and skill that may be very useful to society; but for mental health an individual should be interested for a portion of the day in a variety of things such as his companions find of interest.

In general, the person who remains as happy and hopeful as his fellows in the same circumstances is likely to be in better mental health than the one who is excessively dissatisfied and discouraged. The farther the index of happiness goes down, the greater the probability of mental ill health, even though the changes are due primarily to physical disease or unfavorable environment. The tendency to emphasize unpleasant experiences,

to dwell on them, to remember them, and to anticipate more of them, is not normal or healthful. An unusually high index of happiness is a very much less serious departure from the usual, but it is sometimes associated with an avoidance of realities to such an extent that there is a serious decline of personality growth and vigor. All emotional variations that are excessive and prolonged are likely to interfere with mental health, whereas moderate emotions, stimulating to effort, are healthful.

Orderly mental processes. Mental processes are judged as orderly chiefly by their likeness to those of others of the same group and are rather accurately indicated by language association experiments. Psychologists, after giving a list of one hundred words to a great number of people with the direction to respond with the first word coming to mind, computed the number of times the same response words were given, and thus established norms. Now, in testing an individual it is possible to measure how many of his associations are the same as those of most persons, and how many are individual or peculiar to the subject of the test. When the individual responses approach one third, the probability becomes great that the person being tested varies so far from the general average as to indicate poor mental health.

The kind of words given in each case is also significant. Very irrelevant words are less serious indications than words implying confusion of ideas. In this and in other specially prepared tests, giving the same word associate in response to many of the test words shows the existence of a mental complex in which some idea or group of ideas plays an undue part in the subject's mental processes.

Lack of orderly thinking is also tested by having a person give words as rapidly as possible for three minutes, and noting whether the words are in associated groups. There should not be a complete jump from one idea to another, but a movement

by means of intermediates such as are common in human experience.

Another way of studying an individual's mental processes and determining their normality is to give him ink-blot pictures and encourage him to talk freely about them. The remarks made show presence, or lack of continuity, of thought, and reveal special interests and complexes. Tests may be confirmed by observing the individual's behavior and conversation.

Orderly thinking is promoted by coördinated movements, perfected by conditioning and voluntary practice, and furthered by direction of attention in purposeful activities.

Orderly thinking is to a considerable extent also the product of training in noting things and their associates in their time and place relations, and still more through noting of resemblances. Classifications of ideas and objects and the formation of general truths are the outcome of attention to similarities. To be like others in thoughts, therefore, is largely the result of being trained to attend to the same things they do. This is done partly through the influence of those around us, and partly through the action of teachers in directing the picturing by means of language of what is not present. This leads to thinking, not only as companions do, but as the world thinks.

An individual who learns the language of those about him, is taught what others have learned, and has been trained to reach conclusions in the usual way, is not only prepared to understand and adjust to others of his group, but his mind, and indirectly, his behavior is normalized by such training. His errors are corrected, and he is checked in his tendency to go to individual extremes.

Even though one person's ideas and their relative values are better than those of his group, yet they may, because of their difference from those of his companions, become a source of conflicts disturbing to his mental health. An inductive thinker,

dealing chiefly with objective facts, living among people who have been trained to accept dogmatic teaching of what is true in politics, morals, and religion, not only has serious conflicts with his group but either doubts whether he is right and every one else is wrong, or becomes arrogant and refuses to be influenced in any way by the opinions of others.

A person who has had the usual educational training and who, through reading, has learned of the experiences, thoughts, and conclusions of others than his own group, is usually saved from extreme prejudices and delusions which often grow stronger with age in an uneducated, untraveled, and unread individual.

It does not follow from the above that the school should turn out all of its graduates thinking exactly alike, but that their attention shall have been directed in the usual ways enough so as to bring about an adjustment of the pupil's thinking that will prevent him from extreme variations in his language and thought processes.

Rhythms of activity and rest. Most of the phenomena of the physical world and of organic life are rhythmical, and the individual who has well established rhythms of activity and rest including sleep, of strenuousness and passivity, is more likely to remain in mental health than the one who is quite irregular or generally indifferent. Great variability in sleeping is generally recognized as indicative of probable mental ill health. One of the chief efforts in institutions for the insane is to induce patients to become more normal in this respect.

Within each day there needs to be a period of almost complete inaction of muscles during sleep, and also a considerable amount of muscular activity with intervals of comparative rest when awake. Every muscle alternates relaxation with contraction, and cannot do this rapidly and continuously without a period of rest and recovery, but a different set of muscles may perform nearly the same work while those formerly active rest; for ex-

ample, in tapping, one may use chiefly either the fingers, the wrist, the forearm, or the whole arm muscles.

In many specialized occupations and in a large proportion of mental activities a limited number of rather fine muscles are used much of the time during a period of work. Efficiency demands that these special activities shall not be too long continued, and health demands that there shall be some rather vigorous activity of the larger muscles every day. An individual who ignores the natural rhythms of activity and rest is likely to get into a condition in which he is unaware of fatigue, and to suffer from what is called a nervous breakdown demanding a long period of rest. This may be wholly physical, but mental disorders are frequently associated with it.

Efficiency and health of mind is promoted, especially in individuals who are engaged in repetitive specialized work, by alternating work with frequent rest periods. Experiments show that by resting a third of the time more work can be done in a day with less fatigue than by trying to work continuously at top speed on a specified task. In some kinds of mental tasks, especially those that are creative, long periods of activity are, however, almost necessary to success, and periods of rest must be correspondingly longer. The essential truth from the standpoint of mental hygiene is that activities shall be adjusted to each other and to rest periods by each individual in such a way that he will do little or no work when fatigued. Failure to rest sufficiently each day so as to begin the next with restored vigor often results in a state of chronic fatigue in which one becomes progressively less efficient and less well adjusted to all sorts of life situations. Troubles in home, school, office, and factory, arising from the fatigued condition of one or more individuals, render the maintenance of mental health difficult not only for the fatigued persons, but for all associated with him.

Occasional excesses or deficiencies in functioning are not injurious so long as there is return to normal within a reasonable

time. So elastic and resourceful is the healthy bodily organism that it may be ignored and thwarted for a considerable time, and yet, when given a chance, it will quickly resume nearly normal functioning. For the majority of individuals, however, during most of life, the efficient and healthy personality is best preserved by balancing the books every day, so that after a night's rest there is a surplus of vitality.

Alternation of work and play. Work and play need to be properly adjusted in the interest of normal functioning. Work is voluntary, directed toward future satisfactions, motivated by some sort of necessity, and generally requires restricted and repetitive processes; play, on the other hand, depends upon present impulses, yields immediate satisfactions, is vitalized by immediate interests, and involves varied activities freely taking place or voluntarily emphasized and directed toward an end only for short periods. The general play attitude in animals and in man is quite different from the work attitude. The kitten or dog playing at fighting is an entirely different creature from one actually engaged in fighting. In young children and animals such attitudes may be temporary, and the transformation from one to the other may be very sudden.

Small children and the "master of his craft" often successfully combine play with work, especially when engaged in creative activities; but most persons can more successfully follow the motto of "work while you work and play while you play." Usually there should be no uncertainty as to which is dominating at a given time.

An interval of rest after work restores working ability, whereas an interval of play, of amusement, or of games appropriately selected not only gives rest for the parts fatigued but often involves activity of the whole body and of parts not employed in work. This tends to broaden the personality and to preserve balanced functioning. An avocation, as well as a vocation, also

broadens the personality, but may not wholly take the place of the freer activity of play.

Inactive rest is not always more recreative than play. Amusements are mildly active, whereas games and sports, especially when involving competition, are strenuous. The latter frequently lose their play character when prizes or permanent records become the prominent features. The importance and permanence of results make them become work activities, and diminish or destroy their value as recreative play. Games and sports, thus transformed, may serve the purposes of avocations, but do not possess the recreative value of play in which the doing and the momentary pleasures of successes are enjoyed without thought of permanent results.

It is especially necessary that persons whose work is largely mental should get into the play attitude or spirit in order to be relieved from the strain of work. A change of vocation is not enough, and attempts to rest often fail unless one engages in plays or amusements that for the time occupy the mind in a new way.

Some play every day adds to the zest of both work and play, and gives better results in the way of efficiency and integration of personality than long periods of work and long periods of play. A prolonged work period makes it hard to get into the play spirit and to find something to do, while after a long vacation it is often hard to settle down to work. Long periods of vocational and of avocational activities are more easily adjusted to each other, but even then short intervals of play are needed.

For ordinary individuals it is easier to work all the time than to keep one's self interestedly occupied all the time. Persons who have nothing to do but to enjoy themselves are more likely to be dissatisfied and to commit suicide than those who are compelled to work excessively. Most persons are better adjusted when for part of the day, and to a limited degree, there is some

sort of necessity driving them, and some direction as to when and how they shall be active, while during the rest of the day they are free to do what they choose in the way they like. The more original and the more creative the individual, the more safely may he order all phases of his own life in work and play. Even geniuses, however, may need outside pressure and direction to prevent them from going to injurious extremes in following their bent.

Modern life requiring specialized activity demands not only shorter working hours, but also that facilities and training shall be provided for the use of leisure time in ways that will be favorable to mental health. It is in the interest of mental health that this leisure time shall not be spent too strenuously or too passively, but in following interesting recreative activities.

Moderation in reactions. Moderate reactions to situations indicate mental health. Persons who are becoming maladjusted because of fatigue or from other causes almost always show rather marked variations from the usual responses to situations. Some individuals are much more responsive than others, and this must be taken into account in judging normality of response. But a person who, instead of showing a slight muscular contraction at a sudden sound, jumps, and perhaps screams, is making an excessive response and reveals that his equilibrium is easily upset. The same is true of one whose reaction to minor dangers, to ill luck, to losses, or to slightly irritating situations, is a violent emotional outburst. One of the first indications that one is not in normal condition is irritation at slight interferences with what he is doing. Excessive expressions of joy or love, and readiness to laugh excessively at slightly humorous situations, are variations indicating the beginning of unhealthy functioning. Giggling is a less significant symptom than hysterical laughing.

The opposite extreme of making little or no response to situations that produce vigorous reactions in most persons, or of

making an unsuitable response such as laughing at sad news, or showing interest and pleasure at suffering that horrifies others, is indicative of mental ill health. Whatever increases and prolongs such extreme variations from the usual adjustments of responses to situations is unfavorable to mental health.

One of the most valuable forms of training is to decrease and shorten emotional expressions, or quickly to transform them into a more efficient adjustment to the situation. To encourage a child or adult by sympathy, teasing or otherwise, to intensify and prolong emotional states, is always a mistake. On the other hand, to attempt to suppress completely all expression of emotional states is a much greater strain on the nervous system, and almost sure to show ill effects later. Enough emotional expression in word or gesture to relieve the momentary tension, followed by purposeful coördinated activity, is one of the safest means of limiting excess of response.

Balance of suggestibility and individuality. Normal functioning, especially in social intercourse, is promoted by suggestibility. To be suggestible and yet to act individually is favorable to mental health. This applies more to personal suggestions given by words and actions than to objective conditions. In a way, this is a call to make moderate responses to social stimuli. Some persons are excessively responsive to such stimuli and accept the actions and words of their group as a complete guide. If placed in another group, their conduct may be entirely changed since they are not guided by their own impulses and judgments, but are dominated by the social stimuli they receive. This is quite unfavorable to the development of a vigorous personality capable of acting consistently.

The opposite extreme is that of acting according to present impulses or desires for the future, and in accordance with one's own special impulses and limited judgment regardless of what others do or think. This opens the way to individual excesses and to conflicts with companions, conventions, and society in

general. Lack of suggestibility is almost sure to result in serious mental ill health in persons who are naturally unstable and poorly integrated. Even vigorous personalities sometimes lose their balance by indulging personal idiosyncrasies.

Moderate suggestibility is promoted by comparing one's perceptions, actions, and judgments with those of others, and by giving due weight to the judgments of those who have had more experience or who are recognized as experts.

Adjusting to reality. A growing tendency to day-dream and to live within one's self is one of the most common signs of beginning mental ill health. Shyness, preoccupation, and lack of attention to present stimulation are often indications associated with this condition.

The mind is more or less self-active, but its activity must be adjusted to external, as well as to internal, situations in order to continue normal. To adjust to realities more than to imaginary situations is, in general, a healthful practice. This is nearly, but not quite, the same as saying—be an extrovert rather than an introvert. Under usual conditions most people alternate between extrovert and introvert attitudes, but an excess of introvert activity is more likely to increase in unhealthful ways than an excess in the opposite direction. In objective behavior one is continually checked and regulated by the nature of things with which one deals, and by the conduct of companions, whereas there is little to normalize introvert activities. One may adjust his inner life of desires and of means to his own satisfactions, but behavior actually must vary not according to wish, but in ways that, considering the nature of the situation, will most nearly give the results desired.

Some individuals live two lives, an objective life of behavior, and a subjective life of imagination and thought, with little or no connection between them. This does not make for unity of personality. Day-dreams, however, serve as a form of play without necessarily interfering with practical efficiency in meeting

real situations. Unity is assured if there is alternation between picturing imaginary situations, actions, and results, and attempts actually to meet similar real situations by appropriate means. By thus checking wild imagining and finding effective adjustments to realities the personality is adjusted and integrated.

The optimistic individual who occupies his mind with images of a better environment or a more admirable self sometimes becomes quite impractical because he confuses the represented future that may never be realized with the cold realities and probabilities that confront him. On the other hand, the pessimist suffers in advance evils that may never come, and often neglects to adjust advantageously to realities and probabilities. A feeling of security, or the lack of it, has much to do with increasing one or the other of these tendencies. The attempt to view problems objectively is generally helpful in maintaining the balance between optimism and pessimism.

It is possible for an introvert to be well adjusted in his mental and emotional life and to behave in ways that are objectively consistent with each other, but unrelated to his dream life. He may thus lead a double life—of the day-dreamer, or theorist, and of the performer successful in meeting certain objective situations in a field unrelated to his dreams.

The mind may produce loathsome monsters as well as ideals of perfection, and these may survive in an introvert mind largely shut off from the external world, whereas they would be eliminated from an extrovert personality by frequent contacts with the world as it is.

Adjustment to reality is not wholly a matter of environmental conditions but of properly estimating and using one's endowments and acquisitions. If one is so much of an introvert that he judges himself wholly from within, regardless of objective failures and successes or of the opinions of others, there is no limit to the misjudgments of self. In every asylum are those who have delusions of grandeur, many thinking themselves

God; and there are also many who think themselves the worst or the most insignificant of human beings. An extrovert does not do much judging of self; but those normally of neither extreme temporarily overestimate or underestimate themselves, but are restored to a more normal condition by objective experiences of success or failure and by approval and criticism. They usually slightly overestimate their good qualities. Less healthy individuals with high ideals and tender consciences overestimate deficiencies and faults.

Adjusting to the future. With a mind that can picture what is not present, one that can see forward and backward in time and space, it is inevitable that the healthful integration of the human personality depends upon the part played by the near or more remote future in directing present adjustments. This is a problem of evaluation or domination of present and future, rather than of ignoring the one or of confusing the two. The child's tendency is to act in the present, chiefly in relation to immediate ends, yet both children and animals make some preparation for the future. Images of what may be, and ideals of what is desirable, begin rather early in life to direct the child's behavior, especially in his dramatic play. Adults, partly by example, and still more by precept, are likely to be emphasizing and overemphasizing the importance of acting with reference to distant futures rather than to the more immediate present. Some never enjoy the present because they are continually adjusting for a distant future. All work compels some such adjustments, whereas play is controlled chiefly by the present, although the future may dominate in imaginative day-dreams.

The person who does not increasingly adjust with reference to the future remains in a more or less infantile stage of development. He indulges himself, does things regardless of consequences, and is improvident and immoral in the sense of doing what brings most immediate satisfaction regardless of later consequences. The results on the mental health of self are fre-

quently less serious than the difficulties and discomforts inflicted upon others. Intelligent children and youths, if not emotionally unstable and not too much interfered with, are likely to learn to subordinate present pains and pleasures to future successes. This helps to develop a personality that is well integrated at each stage, and consistent throughout life.

The one who in serious matters acts now on impulse, and now for a very distant future, cannot become well integrated. Long periods of acting for very distant ends, none of which can be enjoyed in the present, and only vaguely in the imagination, repress and distort the individual in his present stage of development and fail to prepare him properly for the next. He is not adjusting in accordance with his own ideals and impulses but yielding himself for the time to the direction of others. This may lead to a life of subserviency of all present satisfactions to getting ready for a "rainy day," or to revolt and excesses in the opposite direction.

Success. In Burnham's words, success is the "matching of images with realities." At every moment of the day minor successes are secured by voluntary attention and movements, and thus images are continually transformed into realities and one's immediate future integrated with past and present. Growth in vigor of living involves imaging continually more distant ends which, by prolonged and consistent effort, are transformed into real experiences.

Unattractive ends, imaged in response to commands and realized by following directions, do not successfully integrate the present activities. Healthy integrative development is indicated by increased initiative in finding something to do, a way to do it, and success in doing it; whereas lack of such development is shown in an increasing dependence upon others for direction and help. A partial balance is maintained by pupils who perform required work by doing as little of it as possible, but who are fertile in finding ways of using their leisure time. When

effort is necessary to obtain satisfactions—for example, walking up hill in order to slide down, or earning money to go on a roller coaster—there will be some healthy integrated development.

Every success means survival thus far in the struggle for existence and increased vigor of living. The success is more complete and healthful when there is pleasure in doing as well as in the results secured. Continued growth is assured when opportunities for further successes are sought and realized, but stagnation and decline are the inevitable results of shirking responsibilities and opportunities. The person who seeks easy ways of gaining immediate success is living less vigorously than the one who is seeking for opportunities in which effort will bring more distant or ideal satisfactions.

Successes are significant in personality development in proportion to the effort expended or the difficulties overcome, and the approximation to the ideal standard reached. What is a pronounced success to one may be a failure to another who can easily do as well, but is satisfied only by a closer approximation to a higher ideal. Success after vigorous, prolonged effort spurs one on to engage in other difficult tasks.

One may reach a stage in which the doing is more enjoyable than the end gained. Many inventors, like Edison, lose interest in what they have constructed as soon as it works successfully; and some financiers are more concerned with the success of their plans than with the use of the money gained. To such persons life is a game, and the efforts employed, enjoyable, whatever the ends secured. Even when one fails, to have “kept the course” and “run a good race” is worth while whoever gets the prize.

The hope of success is the absolutely essential element in the maintenance of personal morale. If failures cause this hope to decline, feelings of inferiority develop. To avoid this the personality often refuses to acknowledge defeat and seeks ways of achieving success or seeming success, and of covering up fail-

ures. Careful search into the history of maladjusted persons will usually show that however able the person may seem, failure in some type of adjustment is an important source of his difficulties. Success in new endeavors, and in old ones where there have been failures, are universally valuable in restoring mental health.

Oversuccess, if obtained too easily, may decrease effort and develop a superiority complex. Gifted boys going from small high schools to college or business usually have any overconfidence they have developed toned down when they associate with superior youths. The signs of overconfidence in self are sometimes deceptive, being most conspicuous in persons who have a feeling of inferiority which they are trying to camouflage or compensate for, or who are trying to divert attention from weaknesses by their boastings or their display of some quality in which they excel. Lack of success, especially in gaining the approval of others, produces most varied results—shyness, bullying, boasting, lying, stealing, etc.

The seeming or actual overconfidence most difficult to overcome is that which has a subjective basis only. There is no limit to the imaginary successes that one may obtain, and these are often so much enjoyed that the pleasures of objective successes have no attraction. When one engages in constructive tasks and in athletic contests where standards of achievement are objective and measurable, he gets proofs of his degree of success which are usually convincing. The use of alibis serves as a temporary protection for the self in cases of failure, but continued and excessive use of this means of "saving face" is weakening. In literary, artistic, and social activities subjective opinions are the chief tests, and it is easy to discount the opinions of critics, to overstress those of friends and flatterers, and thus get the subjective feeling of success and some social approval or reputation. But a complete feeling of security cannot usually be gained in this way. There is need for objective evidence of success, or

positive evidence of it in the behavior of others. In a sanitarium for wealthy men who had lost confidence in themselves, the above truth was recognized by encouraging them to make things that would be proved to be good, not by praise, but by the fact that people would actually buy them, although the maker had no use for the money.

Many minor successes and failures in everyday living are not so noticeably stimulating or depressing as the big successes and failures, yet they are more essential to healthy living. When they occur in the early morning, they often have considerable influence in determining the outcome of the day's work. One must do something every day that seems worth while to self and to others if a healthy morale is to be maintained, whether one's I.Q. is 20 or 200.

Persistence. To persist in efforts to gain a chosen end is, in general, a sign of mental health and promotive of such a condition. This is probably always true when the end and the means of attaining it are suited to the individual in his present stage of development. Excessive persistence by going on with what has been begun is often called stubbornness, but in general it is not so indicative of unhealthy mental development as the opposite characteristic of frequently changing from one activity to another without finishing anything.

Practical situations often demand that one's aims at least shall be temporarily abandoned in order that something else of significance may be accomplished, or sometimes in order that one may have time to rest, or to get knowledge, skill, or experience that will make possible the attainment of a greater degree of success later. In early life there are so many new and interesting things to do that care needs to be exercised that what the child has begun shall, if possible, be finished before his attention is attracted to something else. In school, it is unfortunate when frequent changes in classes prevent children from carrying their efforts through to completion. Integration of personality is in-

dedicated and induced by continued activity in the use of means (with intervals for rest when necessary) until the purpose is accomplished, or its impossibility or inadvisability demonstrated.

It is not always wise to insist upon a project being finished now, if interest has begun to wane. It may be well to drop it for the time being, then return to it later, even if its completion should be of little objective value. It is not easy to decide for others or for one's self when to drop a task that is becoming distasteful until one is in a more favorable mood for doing it. Some persons accomplish more and with greater satisfaction when they work as they feel energy and interest; whereas others dare not yield to this feeling lest they become less persistent in their efforts. The practice of continuing a task regardless of growing fatigue and distaste may add to the efficiency of people with strong physiques, but often leads to the collapse of physically weaker individuals.

Healthful persistence is indicated by increased satisfaction in working and increased objective efficiency; while under- and over-persistence is shown by intermittent activity, less objective achievement, and fatigue and dissatisfaction. Careful observation over a considerable period is sometimes necessary before one knows whether it is wise to stimulate an individual to greater vigor and persistence in certain lines, or to allow him to work as he pleases, trusting that his interest and achievement will make him healthily persistent. The artistic and sensitive person is most frequently benefited by the latter policy.

CASE 1.—A sense of inferiority and a desire to compensate is a frequent cause of misconduct. Kenneth's case is illustrative of this point. He is an adopted boy whose father was a shiftless ne'er-do-well. His school subjects are hard for him, and he has repeated several grades. He endeavors to gain distinction by petty acts against authority. He lies and weeps when he is detected. On one occasion his hand was slapped by the teacher with a ruler. That night Kenneth went to the high school where an entertainment was held

for the children of his grade. On the way home he was the "hero" of his tale to the boys from the east side about the awful whipping he had had which made him black and blue all over his body.

CASE 2.—Many times have I applied the principle of providing challenging situations in which I knew certain children were likely to succeed.

George Bailey came to us late in the school year with a poor foundation for fifth-grade work. He was promoted from fourth to the fifth on probation, but at the beginning of the fifth grade it became plain that George was not doing work commensurate with his ability. He was growing surly and inattentive, and he wore a frown always. His mother coöperated beautifully with us and the boy was put back in the fourth grade. To-day you would not know the boy. He has felt the meaning of success, and this is motivation enough to make him the busiest pupil in all room activities. The school day is not long enough to accomplish all the little tasks which he sets for himself.

Billy's older brother went home with glowing accounts of his achievements in a higher school. Soon Billy's father came to inquire how Billy was getting on, saying that he was a bit discouraged because he had nothing special to report. Billy did have some little successes to report, the talk with the teacher disclosed, and you should have seen his eyes beam when in the teacher's presence the revelation was made to Billy. Here is a father appreciating the value of little successes as a motivating force in the life of his boy.

I have taught under one superintendent whose praise would make me work furiously indefinitely, but whose harsh criticism would plunge me into the depths of despair. He seemed to have the same effect on the majority of his teachers, perhaps because his good opinion is highly valued and his adverse criticisms are entirely free from sugar-coating.

I know a teacher, a college graduate, who took up teaching for want of something better to do. She hated it intensely from the first, and was always on the point of resigning. She was a conscientious soul, however, and did her work well. Suddenly in about the tenth year of her teaching she discovered duties and positions not left to the rank and file of teachers were being entrusted to her. The discovery really tickled her pride although she did not show it.

The effect was instantaneous, and she pressed on in higher professional pursuits in a most whole-hearted manner. She now has a Ph.D. and is considered an excellent teacher.

In my junior year in college the chairmanship of the annual Christmas bazaar was thrust upon me. It was always considered a huge undertaking, and it went off with a reasonable amount of success. The responsibility, together with the leading part in my commencement play, have done more to inspire confidence in myself than any other two things I have ever done.

We must not lose sight of the injurious effects of success on one's mental health. A friend of my father's inherited a rather large sum of money. He set himself about amassing more and succeeded in making himself a wealthy man. But the more he gained, the more he went after until he developed a rather hysterical hilarity in all his undertakings with the result that this hysterical hilarity habit finally extended over into various lines of extravagant spending. He ended with less money than he had before the inheritance.

I have known of social and intellectual successes to produce intellectual and social snobs. I have known repeated successes to make it very difficult for one to stand up under the slightest defeat. I think now of one girl to whom praise was so vital that she makes herself ridiculous by eliciting compliments. Success in unworthy lines tends to make people lose sight of worthy ambitions.

Some of the methods and devices employed to-day to insure success to a maximum number of pupils are as follows: the Winnetka and Dalton plans with their modified forms; an enriched curriculum with an ever-increasing number of elections for high-school pupils; homogeneous grouping; the use of maximum and minimum assignments; the socialized recitation and supervised study; the inclusion of more arts and crafts in the curriculum; the employment of an adjustment teacher; and close scrutiny of subject-matter.

Some lesser devices that may after all accomplish more than the more comprehensive plans are the use of individual charts, which give the pupil the idea of surpassing his own record instead of that of his neighbor who may be more able; keeping before the pupil his virtues instead of his shortcomings; group competition instead of individual rivalry; free expression in all subjects which permit it.

CASE 3.—Mrs. G—— loves the company of others. She is in her element when she has callers; she is happy when others are showering attention upon her. If she cannot have company in any other way, she will plan parties and dinners, going to great expense which she cannot afford. If she is left to herself, she becomes very unhappy, almost despondent. She will always end up with a crying spell which will throw her into a case of hysteria. She can be heard all over the rooming house. Naturally her neighbors come to her assistance. She will stage a dramatic scene and then relax into a semiconscious state. The next day she will appear very, very white, almost deathlike in appearance, tense, and very, very quiet. It will take about three days for her to “snap out” of this; the next week she will appear normal again and remain so until she has been neglected sufficiently. This seems to be a case of emotional complex. It is persistent and it appears again and again so that now when we learn that Mrs. G—— is not well, or when we see her deathly pale, we are not sincerely sympathetic, for it is “an old story.”

Mrs. G—— had two sisters who were much older than she, and they gave her much attention when she was a child, mothering her and loving her. Too, her mother was very affectionate and much more of a companion with her daughters than most mothers. Because of this Mrs. G—— had considerable attention in her younger days. Attention was easily attained and usually secured. This created a joy in her life, a pleasure that apparently she cannot live without.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. Give a description of any child who is being induced to behave in ways suitable to (a) younger children, (b) older children.
2. Is there in this country too much emphasizing of standards of a later stage of development? Illustrate.
3. Describe any instances of variations from age standards that you think are due to too much association with (a) younger companions, (b) older companions.
4. Describe instances of associations that indicate poor adjustment between (a) a parent and child, (b) a teacher and child, (c) a child and one or more companions.
5. Give parallel instances of good adjustments.

6. Study the influence of close chums upon each other.
7. Tell about some individual who has very unusual interests.
8. Try the experiment of having persons give words as fast as possible for three minutes, or have them write them for five minutes. Then study these words for evidences of orderliness of thinking.
9. Observe for several days several individuals and make notes of evidences of rhythms of activity, and evidences of fatigue when one activity is prolonged.
10. Study the work rhythms of efficient and of inefficient persons.
11. Study the work-play activities of several persons, noting especially cases of (*a*) attempting to combine work and play, (*b*) of frequently and completely alternating them, (*c*) of prolonged periods of work or of play.
12. Give instances of persons who wisely choose their play in relation to the character of their work, and of those who make unwise adjustments.
13. Give descriptions of persons who make excessive responses to stimulating situations, always, or under certain circumstances. Notice if the tendency is increasing.
14. Give descriptions of persons who habitually or under certain circumstances appear apathetic.
15. Do you know any who alternate between extreme passiveness and extreme activity?
16. Describe persons who are (*a*) very unusually independent in feeling and opinion, (*b*) very susceptible to the influence of companions, emotionally or intellectually.
17. Have you at any time done a large amount of day-dreaming? What was the effect, if any, of this day-dreaming and wishing upon your reactions to real situations?
18. Describe individuals who you think are avoiding realities by their day-dreams and not merely adding to the pleasures of living.
19. Describe individuals who (*a*) seem to act almost wholly without reference to anything but the present, (*b*) live largely in the past, (*c*) live chiefly for the future, (*d*) harmonize all those ways of living.
20. Describe the effects on individuals of single or repeated (*a*) failures, (*b*) successes.
21. Describe instances you have observed of persons who have failed but are doing things to convince themselves and others that

they are really important. Is such an attitude more or less favorable to mental health than acknowledging and regretting one's failures?

22. Is it well to have an individual dwell on his failures except when so doing will reveal what is needed to obtain success?

23. Discuss means of promoting healthful self-judgments.

24. Discuss the best methods of dealing with children who (a) are excessively persistent in work or play, (b) lack persistency in anything.

25. Is this rule in general a good one, "Finish what you undertake"? Should it ever be violated?

26. Are you now studying or working for longer periods and with greater enjoyment than formerly? If you are getting more done but with less pleasure in the doing, are your methods of work wrong, or your time schedule of work and play intervals not properly chosen? If you are enjoying your work more but getting less done, is your appetite and capacity for work likely to increase or decrease?

27. Does the attainment of objective success in many lines with personal satisfaction inevitably mean healthy integration of personality?

28. Is Case 1 surely an instance of trying to seem to be a success? How should he be dealt with? Is his case more or less hopeless than that of one who accepts the idea that he is no good?

29. Discuss in detail the generality of the supposed truths illustrated in Case 2.

30. Is Case 3 an instance of too much dependence upon others and too little self-sufficiency? Do you know of other instances?

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CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL MENTAL HYGIENE AND MODERN LIFE

Security and society. Man, more than most animals, gains security by living with others of his kind rather than by pitting his individual powers against a hostile or difficult natural environment. Only in the most favorable environment can he meet dangers and procure food and shelter without coöperating with his fellows.

The knowledge of how to enjoy his environment and avoid its dangers is not chiefly the product of the individual's own experience, but has been acquired by his people and passed down from generation to generation. The larger and older the group to which one belongs, the greater the individual's social heritage. A man's security depends less upon natural surroundings and native powers than upon his use of the facilities and protections provided by his group.

In cities well supplied with food, clothing, etc., an individual cannot get what he wants as he would gather fruit from a tree, but only by some specialized work provided by society. If he tries to take what he needs by force or by stealth, he may be deprived of liberty and even of life.

If he belongs to a prosperous, well organized group and adjusts to its requirements, he is sure that he and any property he may have will be protected from injuries that might be inflicted by other groups or by members of his own group. The primary purpose of all government is to provide such safety for the people. Much of the freedom from fear of danger to person and property is enjoyed by being a member of a well ordered group where the weakest as well as the strongest is safe,

sure of the necessities for living, and, if energetic, not in danger of lapsing into a lower standard of living. Any failure on the part of society to protect person or property affects the economic welfare of all members of the community. Poor economic functioning renders law enforcement difficult. In times of depression crimes increase, and millions of people become powerless by any form of personal effort or observance of the principles of mental hygiene, to give themselves a well based feeling of security.

Positive phases of public mental health. In thickly settled regions conditions favoring physical health, such as pure water, pure foods, sanitary buildings, safe streets, protection from infectious diseases, etc., are necessarily almost wholly matters of public health or hygiene rather than of individual effort. Mental hygiene, as well as physical, can be placed on a secure basis only by successful functioning of the coöperative groups to which individuals belong. This is emphasized, not only by general truths of social and individual psychology, but also by the results of scientific researches in various industries. It is found, for example, that in well managed industries where men are sure of their jobs, of fair treatment, and of safe and pleasant conditions for work (including unobjectionable foremen), the productiveness and the mental health of the workers is much better than in industries less wisely managed.

Mental as well as physical security is also greatly increased by various types of insurance, which distribute losses, and protect individuals from disaster. By organizations and laws society provides a comparatively safe environment; each individual makes his chief adjustments to this rather than to his physical environment. Favorable opportunities for healthful mental functioning are given not only by the local, state, and national government, but by family, churches, schools, libraries, and by organizations and societies which provide opportunity for the gratification of social, artistic, and other interests, and for avocations, sports, plays, and amusements.

The individual does little in the way of making over his natural or social environment, but has opportunity to choose from the environment provided by society the phases of it to which he shall react. In doing so he is continually influenced not only by companions, but by all sorts of laws and conventions of society as a whole, and of each special group to which he belongs. It follows, therefore, that personal mental hygiene would require little attention in a social group that was functioning perfectly.

Even the exceptional individual such as the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the feeble-minded, the gifted, and some of the still more individual types would be provided with a suitable environment. (For example, in a certain factory, Italians and Americans working in a very noisy room were discontented and inefficient; but Scandinavians and Germans assigned to this room were successful and contented.) Placing individuals in an environment adapted to their nature and training, and in which they will make normal and healthful adjustments, is now as much a problem of public hygiene as of individual or personal hygiene.

A society composed of various classes not antagonistic or too intensely competitive, and having common interests to which each individual in his chosen field may coöperatively contribute, is favorable to the mental health of all its members. Either a static social order, in which each individual is content to remain in the class in which he was born, or an order where there is much social change, with facilities for each person to find the place suited to his abilities and interests, may provide an equally hygienic environment.

It has been claimed that a well functioning democracy will ultimately produce a social order in which occupation and social status will be largely determined by birth. If mating were always with similar individuals, and if all special abilities were inherited, this would be the natural result after a number of

generations of free choice of occupation according to abilities and interests.

Similarity in fundamental religious and moral beliefs is favorable to mental health. In the absence of this, each needs to be free to have his own ideas, and all must be respectful of the ideas of others.

Laws and mental hygiene. All regulations have a mental-hygiene aspect that should receive consideration when laws are being enacted and administered. In providing security by public means there are necessarily some limitations of the freedom of the individual. A society that is overprotective and unwisely restrictive may greatly diminish security by presenting situations to be met that are likely to be evaded or disregarded. Individuals who have little self-control, and all persons who are hindered by restrictive rules from doing what they want to do, find themselves in a social order that, while protecting from many dangers, is itself a danger to all who do not follow the narrow path of life prescribed by society.

Many persons are in continual fear, not only of the law, but of the disapproval of their associates; whereas others never depart from the protecting arms of convention, and thus gain security. The great problem of mental hygiene as provided by the social order, is so to adjust the laws and conventions to human needs and desires, that every one will be given a high degree of security and few or none be restricted to such an extent that they are likely to disobey.

Laws regulating eating and drinking, even when favorable to physical health, have usually met with resistance or evasion, neither of which is conducive to social or individual mental health. In many cases the restriction increases the impulse to use the restricted article not merely because of contrariness, but because it excites curiosity and some fear, both of which tend to keep the idea of using it prominent in consciousness. The

result is that if one obeys the law, he must continue to inhibit this stronger impulse, while if he disobeys, he must defy or deceive officials. If the value of healthful foods and drinks is taught, and facilities for obtaining them made greater than for harmful ones, the impulse to take unhealthful foods or drinks will decrease, and there will be fewer occasions for conflicts with laws. The difficulties of forceful control of foods are so great that, except in the case of the most harmful drugs, legislators now hesitate to use direct means for regulating their use.

Laws regulating clothing in the interest of economy, health, or morals have also usually aroused opposition.

Regulations regarding the sex impulse have been quite general. Such regulation has been justified in part to a greater extent than regulation regarding food and clothing, because other persons are more vitally affected by sex acts than by those concerned in eating or dress. Unfortunately, however, the regulations have not been based on the essential nature of sex acts but largely upon all sorts of ideals and unfounded beliefs and superstitions.

Marriage laws, as well as those regarding sex activities, have been almost wholly negative in character. The only positive feature is the largely mental one of permitting freedom of sex activity within the marriage bond, and some associated laws designed to give security in the marriage relation. Marriage laws are a curious mixture of the old and the new, and are only to a slight extent founded on scientific truths and common sense. If it be admitted that the family is a valuable institution, then laws should favor the existence and efficiency of that institution as a phase of our social organization. The purposes of family life to be furthered by marriage laws are to (1) help stabilize the lives of the contracting parties; (2) increase the proportion of children born who have normal or superior endowments as compared with those who are inferior; (3) make conditions more favorable for the healthful care and development of chil-

dren than they would be if there were no family and no laws.

The best feature of most marriage laws is that requiring a public record of the marriage and of the dissolution of marriage. The greatest absurdity has been in allowing almost complete individual choice as to who shall marry, while giving some public official the authority to decide upon the dissolving of the marriage. This is about as sensible as it would be to allow anyone who wished to enter government service, but permit him to leave it only by official permission.

A license is a means of insuring a public record of marriage, but it could be used to insure that the applicants are fitted to found a family and to administer it successfully. Only a few attempts have been made to guard the interests of society by accepting as founders of families only those likely to produce sound children, and to care for them properly. The laws have prohibited marriage within a certain degree of relationship (for example, to one's grandmother), but have permitted marriages of persons sure to produce defective children who have to be cared for by society. This is not the place for a full discussion of marriage laws, but it is probable that, although improvements could be made in their prohibitory features, the best procedure is to be found in indirect but positive provisions that will induce suitable individuals to marry, help them to choose suitable mates, and to conduct a successful family.

Evidence is rapidly accumulating that reveals family life as one of the most important sources of mental health and of mental ill health; hence making conditions favorable for healthy family relationships is an important feature of public hygiene. This is just beginning to be recognized by the founding of marriage clinics for giving advice and information. A number of educational institutions are also offering courses on the family and child care.

Whatever improvements may be made in marriage laws and in education for family life, there will still be need for revising

regulations regarding sex activity outside of the marriage bond. With increased knowledge of birth control, sex relations are less a problem of public welfare than formerly, and more a matter of individual choice. This puts the regulation of sex activities on something of the same basis as regulations regarding food. Perhaps this truth is being overemphasized by some. Two persons are usually concerned in sex activities, and sometimes one or both are profoundly changed by their experiences with each other, and these changes may greatly modify their reactions to other persons. Security, which is the most important factor in personality development, is best obtained by a successful mating continued for a long time, rather than by frequent changes of sex partners. Although the psychology of sex is not yet well known, it is almost certainly in the interest of mental hygiene to support measures that favor comparatively permanent matings.

If all laws regarding sex activities were repealed except those dealing with cases where force is used or where children are involved, every individual would be as responsible for his sex behavior as for his choice of food and clothes. Many mistakes would undoubtedly be made, much to the regret of individuals, and some of them to the injury of society; but there would also be freedom from outwardly imposed repressions and restrictions, which would be very much in the interest of mental health. Persons who have been unduly repressed would, at least for a time, indulge in wild excesses, but those growing up under instruction and without prohibitions, would probably regulate their sex behavior in a more healthful way than is now done when both law and moral ideals are almost wholly prohibitory, and customs of secrecy are such that sex is made highly interesting as compared with other interests.

Laws concerning *amusements*, like those regulating food and clothing, have always been rather difficult to enforce. Both sorts of laws are now directed not so much toward the buyer and

user, as toward sellers of foods and amusements, and thus indirectly the buyer may be seriously thwarted in satisfying his desires. When amusements are offered to the public, children as well as adults are concerned. There is, therefore, a strong demand on one hand for a censorship of reading, pictures, theaters, and radios, and on the other, for complete freedom of speech and of practice of all the arts. There seems to be little reason for allowing one citizen to dictate what another shall read, see, or hear; and there is no reason why a citizen or his children should be compelled to see and hear things that are objectionable to him. In this state of doubt as to whether there should be little, much, or no public censorship, many difficulties may be avoided by making it easy and profitable for that which is generally desired to be seen and heard, while the presentation of matter objectionable to most people shall be limited and hedged about in such a way that the few wishing it shall have to seek for it, while those to whom it is offensive shall not be put to inconvenience to avoid it. This is perhaps best done by restriction on advertising rather than on presentation, and by encouragement of facilities for producing and making known what is likely to be appreciated and admired.

Individual *freedom of speech* and party freedom of propaganda present many of the same difficulties as have just been discussed in connection with the selling of foods and amusements. From the standpoint of mental hygiene a large measure of freedom in all of these lines that disturb some individuals is more likely to be successfully and healthily adjusted to than laws restricting individual expressions. Whatever educational or other means will increase individual discrimination of what is worth while for self, while developing tolerance for what is worth while to others, is in the interest of social and individual mental health.

Laws regulating human action for the *protection of person and property* have been generally accepted as necessary and useful.

The individual may be too weak to protect himself or his property, or if he is strong, he may be actuated by revenge in protecting himself and inflict more severe injuries than he has received. If the contestants are nearly equal, there is often repeated conflict with increased injury to both parties. Public control of injuries to person and property insures power, usually decreases private fighting, and gives better general protection.

In a homogenous population where economic conditions are good, recreational opportunities plentiful, and sex restrictions and rivalries not too numerous, the number of crimes against person and property are likely to be few, and the advantages of state control great. However, if this state control is used in such ways that special privileges may be obtained from officials, there will be an increase rather than a decrease in crimes. Big men will pay for the privilege of exploiting the people, and smaller men for the privilege of conducting gambling and other resorts, and both will pay for immunity from arrest for thieving and for other antisocial practices.

In modern times there has been a great increase in laws applying to business corporations, principles similar to those evolved for individuals. Through public regulation of some of these, such as banks and insurance companies, the people have been made more secure and have been provided with increased facilities for satisfying desires.

The cumbersome machinery of law is sometimes avoided by settling disputes either by *arbitration* or by conference, with or without the help of an impartial third party. The existence of a strong government and just laws gives assurance that however powerless one may be in himself, he has all the power of the state back of him, which he may invoke to prevent the more serious injuries to self. Good general social conditions and a well administered government will minimize the occasions for individual conflicts, and prevent nearly all crimes except those of sudden passion.

In minor affairs the customs and ideals of the group that are the chief bases of *public sentiment* serve in place of the law as a permanent stabilizing force giving assurance to the weak and restricting the powerful. The influence of public sentiment and public power are of least effect within the home. The public is rarely aware of what is taking place there, and one person may make the lives of others most miserable by all sorts of little acts without danger of appeal to public sentiment or to the law. Only by educational and other indirect means may public mental hygiene help in promoting healthful functioning within the home. The modern social worker is becoming efficient in promoting more favorable conditions for mental health in the homes of families that are social problems. The great majority of other families are without any direct assistance from the outside in adjusting to each other and to their special family situations. This emphasizes the need for public provision for educating the heads of families, before and after marriage, on the many phases of family life.

Punishment and mental hygiene. One of the chief disadvantages of laws is that most of them are backed up by punishments that are vengeful and not usually remedial. As a consequence, every one connected with the administration of the law is thrown into an unnatural state of mind—the criminal, his lawyer, the prosecuting attorney, the witnesses, the judge and jury, the policeman and jailer—all are acting a part in a play in which society is trying to take vengeance on the criminal. As a result, mental conflicts are excited in the minds of nearly every one concerned with the infliction of punishment.

If society would give up entirely the idea of inflicting any punishment beyond that incidentally necessary to stop the criminal from committing crimes, and steps were taken to develop his personality so that he would be unlikely to engage in any more acts of the same kind, the advantages of public control would be greatly increased. To this end the principles of public

and personal mental hygiene should be utilized in prisons. The only kind of punishment that "fits the crime" is one that helps produce a more healthy personality. The punishment that does this most effectively is one that requires or gives opportunity to make up as far as possible for the wrong done to the victim, and to engage in a worth-while career. A tribal law that requires the murderer to support the dependents of the victim is far superior from the aspect of mental hygiene, to the civilized law sentencing the murderer for life to prison, where he can support neither his own dependents nor those of his victim.

In the interest of public security, the state should take control of every individual who is a menace to others, and keep control of him until he ceases to be a menace. In the meantime he should be placed in charge of specialists whose business, like that of the physician, is to deal with him in ways that will help him to be restored to normal functioning, to be adjusted to society, and to make up as far as is possible for any wrongs he may have done.

Modern life and mental health. Some of the chief changes making the problems of modern social life different from those formerly existing are greater specialization in vocations and in direct social contacts, with increase of immediate and remote competition and coöperation between industrial and other organizations. Few individuals are now in direct contact with natural resources, but each engages in some special sort of the complex and interrelated activities being carried on by the aid of machines and organizations. A man now enjoys his bread and butter not as the result of his own farming activities but by means of some other occupation, and through the coöperative efforts of men and organizations engaged in producing, processing, transporting, selling, and delivering those articles.

Workers engaged in producing material things by means of power machines have been affected most by specialization. Where one man formerly made and sold shoes, it now takes

over a hundred specialists to make a shoe, and a still greater number are needed to construct and repair machines, produce and prepare the material used, and to market the products. Farmers, who, in general, are closest to nature, now do some specializing in what they produce and, without exception, grow less of what they use, and buy more of their necessities than formerly. This is especially true where much machinery is employed, as in wheat farming.

The profession of the ministry is the vocational occupation that has changed least. Those of medicine and law are becoming highly specialized, and the same is true of teaching. Engineering, formerly scarcely recognized as a profession, is now very highly specialized.

In all large factories and mercantile establishments we have extreme specialization. Workers in transportation and communication industries, formerly few in number, are now numerous and doing highly specialized work. Many new professions, such as social work, research, advertising, brokerage, typing, accounting, inspecting, etc., have evolved. Very few men produce what they use, but each engages in a special vocation, the income from which is used to purchase necessities and luxuries.

Every one is more and more dependent upon the industrial and social order for a livelihood, and society is more and more dependent upon machines and the functioning of organizations. An individual prospers as the industry in which he is engaged prospers, and its prosperity depends upon the prosperity of related industries and upon the stability and efficiency of the social order.

Men are now often as helpless in the face of financial and social upheavals and maladjustments as people formerly were against the sufferings from storms, droughts, and pestilence. The specialization and dependence upon socialized functioning is not limited to the material wants, but extends into all phases of life—recreations and amusements, esthetic and intellectual in-

terests, and all social relations. The individual does not gain these by his own activities in association with a few permanent companions, but through the medium of commercial offerings or memberships in societies.

This specialization extends also into the social field, so that in work or play one parent is with a special group, the other in another group, and the children in others, according to their ages and interests. Each person has contacts with many specialized groups and few continuous contacts with the same persons in all life's activities. The self is modified by each of these various contacts, often in opposing ways, and only to a slight extent is one continuously and consistently molded, as formerly, by associations with the same group of people all of whom conform to the same conventions.

These varied direct contacts are increased and supplemented by facilities for travel, and by a still larger number of indirect contacts through the medium of books, newspapers, telephones, and radio. Thus, directly and indirectly, one may see and hear whatever is of interest to him in the whole world, and may spend much time in associating with persons at a distance.

The materials for self-development of any sort are extensive and varied, but on the other hand there is little in such an environment to stabilize and integrate the personality. The customs observed and followed in the various contact groups are diverse and favor the development of distinct selves. The ideals and standards of one group often have little relation to those of another.

Authoritative control cannot extend into all fields and compel the formation of consistent habits of action, and whatever teaching is given is in part opposed by direct and incidental teaching received in special contact groups. There is little in the social or material environment to give wholeness and unity to the life of the individual.

If it were not for the fact that consciousness is an important

unifier, and that the personality as a whole is strongly selective and integrative in its tendencies, there would be little hope for unified, harmonious, healthy mental development under modern conditions of living.

Since complete unification and harmonization of environmental factors in personality development are much more difficult than formerly, more reliance must be placed upon the inner personality which selects elements of this varied environment that appeal to native tendencies and accord with the ideals of a future self to be realized. The earlier the child begins to select according to interests and to adjust to present situations in the light of his former experiences and his desires for the future, the better will be the chances for the developing conscious personality to become strong in making the varied environment serve as the means of fostering personal unity and growth.

In the old days authority and custom could dominate and direct personality development without much conscious choice. Now with such diversity of contacts, special habits may be thus developed, but ideals can be formed only by conscious choice from the many opportunities presented. The attempt to impose special beliefs and practices upon the child is likely to produce conflicts that may result in adjustments in accordance with teaching, or in conflict with it. More frequently, no one ideal is made consistently dominant, and the individual is uncertain and variable in his conduct. Since the old methods will not work successfully under modern conditions, however vigorously applied, it is wise to analyze the situation and determine what factors are likely to be most useful, remembering that from the standpoint of mental hygiene the essential thing is to develop well integrated personalities, well adjusted to their social environment.

The human race as a whole was never before so unified and coöperative, but the individual, in his contacts with various group conventions, was never so lacking in unifying influences.

Many ends are so quickly and easily obtained by the help of machines and organizations and specialists that even adults are partly thrown back into an infantile stage of existence in which wants are supplied on demand, almost without effort on one's own part. One must engage in some specialized vocation that secures money, then push the proper buttons, and his desires are realized. In the old days a long interval of time, filled by suitable directed self-effort, made it possible to enjoy bacon, eggs, potatoes; whereas now they are at instant command, along with other things from the very ends of the earth.

From the mental-hygiene point of view, man is now, in many phases of his existence, in the condition of the infant. He is, in himself, helpless, unable to secure by his own efforts anything that he may need or desire, but all-powerful because at his command all the forces of nature and all the organizations of man are ready to give him what he desires. His command may be made effective only by some sort of more or less disagreeable effort (partly analogous to the child's crying or fussing), in return for which money, the key to the satisfaction of his desires, is placed in his hands. Each person has in his service the equivalent of the strength of fifty servants. Their help is gained each day by means of specialized effort, in which there is no direct relation between what is done and the things obtained. What will this mean in the personality development of the modern man? It is not easy to predict. His standard of living is much higher than formerly; his hours of labor are fewer, and his leisure time greatly increased. On the other hand, the pleasure of direct effort in gaining most of the things desired is absent, and he lacks the experience of producing by his own efforts what he desires.

These disadvantages are in part offset by the development of special interests and hobbies in which means are directly related to ends—such as caring for gardens, lawns, flowers, and pets, constructing things by hand, repairing automobiles, radios, etc.,

making collections, forming clubs, engaging in home dramatics, etc. The schools also are offering similar opportunities for manual work and for a variety of projects. Extracurricular activities involve direct adjustment of means to ends, in which both the ends and the activity of doing are enjoyed and made a part of the continuous self-development. These experiences of directly connecting means and ends by continuous effort help to give meaning to the more indirect efforts involved in preparing one's self for gaining distant ends in the future. Unity of living is promoted by budgeting, not only money, but also one's time.

It is in the interest of mental health that each person shall, to a large extent, order his own life instead of continually being pushed and pulled by circumstances, demands, and attractions of all sorts, and rushed from one thing to another. There is much activity that leads nowhere, hence come the frequent questions, What is the use of it all? What meaning is there in life?

On the other hand, one who enjoys adjusting means to ends in all the smaller affairs of life, who is at the same time subordinating them in directing his efforts toward some distant goal which may also be a vantage point for other goals, is daily, as well as in anticipation, realizing something of the worthwhileness of life. It is not circumstances, but the individual's own anticipations and effortful realizations, that give zest and meaning to living. The disadvantages of modern life experienced by those who yield to the varied and intense stimuli are turned into advantages by those who make their own lives, as they select according to their desires, and exercise their abilities in using all the mechanical and social facilities provided by the age.

Under modern conditions many individuals are in great need of unifying influences, either in the form of more consistency in direct and indirect social contacts, or in the development of dominating interests that will then bring order and consistency out of their diverse and contradictory experiences.

Religion, authority, and customs have lost much of their

former power over the individual, while scientific truths are not as yet serving as efficient guides in forming and realizing individual ideals. They have brought order and consistency and certainty in dealing with material things, but are only just beginning to offer guidance in social relations and in individual conduct. There is reason to believe, however, that science, which has done so much to provide the material means of living for crowded populations, will be able to improve social organizations and individual behavior so as to make living more worthwhile than when there was no specialization, and when the customs and beliefs of one's own group almost completely dominated individual behavior.

CASE I.—THE MENTAL HYGIENE ASPECTS OF SUMMER CAMPS FOR
CHILDREN

Peggy was a senior in high school. Ever since she started school she had excelled in whatever she undertook to do. Her marks always placed her scholastically at the head of her class, and her ability on the tennis court was more than outstanding. She had never been beaten at the game and had an idea that she knew all there was to know about it. When Peggy arrived at camp, she was made leader of her bunk. But the first morning on the tennis court put an end to her high opinion of her tennis. All her life she had merely been playing—playing for the sake of winning. Now she was greeted by the counselor in charge by a new idea, that of playing for the sake of playing well, playing in perfect form. Peggy knew nothing about the correct form of playing, and found in her first hour on the courts that she had much to learn. Playing tennis in form, then, became her main purpose in life, and her specialty while in camp. Many were the battles she had with herself, and many were the mornings she arose early to get in some private practice before the rest of the camp was awake. At the close of the summer, Peggy was a different personality. Instead of the "know-it-all" Peggy who had arrived in June, she was now the Peggy with the desire to know more about her favorite sport. All summer she had specialized in tennis; all summer she found out more and more how little she really knew about the thing in which she thought she excelled; and all summer she was developing individu-

ality which at the close of eight weeks marked her as the girl who played an excellent game of tennis, but who still felt she had much to learn.

Helen was born with a hare-lip. All her life she had been very self-conscious, timid at mixing with other girls, and reluctant at joining them in their games. She was fourteen when we first met her in camp. From the time she was five years old she had been to a private school where she had almost individual attention, and where other children were much less likely to talk about her infirmity or to make fun of her. It was after much anxious thought and consideration that her parents decided to send her to camp, and even when they left her, they expected Helen would shortly ask to be taken home feeling left out by the other girls. For the first day, it was difficult for her to make friends, and the other campers were rather hesitant about approaching her, so very noticeable was her deformity. Those who did talk with her did it solely out of the kindness of their hearts, and it was evident that they felt sorry for her and were trying to make her feel at home. Soon, however, she learned to swim, to ride horseback, to play tennis, and to canoe, and at the close of camp she was voted one of the best all-round girls in camp. No camper received more hearty applause when they received the camp letter as the highest award possible, than did Helen. No girl had a sweeter disposition and no one was more willing to help out. She was a changed girl when her parents came to take her home at the close of eight weeks. Nor does the story end here. During the winter when the applications came in for camp the following summer, several girls asked to be put in the bungalow with Helen. Her deformity which was very marked made no difference.

Mary had a glass eye which had to be removed every night before retiring. This process of course made her very self-conscious and might perhaps have made her an outcast with the other girls if it hadn't been for the careful camp supervision which finally discovered that Mary could play a trumpet exceptionally well. Here was a chance to develop this girl's individuality, and the result was that all the unpleasantness of the glass eye was forgotten by the other campers, and Mary became known as the girl who could play the trumpet so well that every one wanted to hear her.

To be well integrated, an individual must fit into society. Where can a child better find out the meaning of his place in the world than by spending a summer living with companions who are much like himself? Camp is a society in itself, and if the child can find his place in the small section of society, he will be quite likely to be able to find his place in the larger groups as he grows older. Every group has certain standards of conduct and achievement which it expects its members to meet. At camp, these standards and achievements are those which can be met by using reasonable effort. This encourages the child, gives him a taste of success, and makes him feel that he has really earned his place in the small group of which he is a member. Often times certain adjustments have to be made before a child is able to measure up to what is expected of him. Such was the case of Betty whose chronological age placed her in the intermediate unit. But Betty was old for her age, and not only old mentally, but physically large for a girl of thirteen. As an intermediate she was a trouble-maker. Her size and mentality quickly made her a leader, and her efforts were mainly put to use in finding numerous pranks to play on others. Shortly it became apparent that Betty was a misfit. She was not measuring up to what was expected of the members of her group, and the result was that, because she was a leader, she was causing others to join her in her escapades. A conference of counselors resulted in Betty's being placed with the seniors, girls three or four years older than herself. Here it was that Betty found herself. She was not a leader any more, but settled down to become one of the group. Her troublesome pranks became a thing of the past; she found her interests satisfied in the program for older girls, and their standards of conduct and achievement appealed to her.

Many are the adjustments made by children in only eight weeks, some conscious but many others unconscious. Coming from many different environments, and many different types of homes, it is not always easy for children to get adjusted to living as one big family. Rich and poor are thrown together, to live together, dress alike, and forget the differences during the camp season.

Gertrude came from a family where wants were never known. All that money could buy was hers for the asking, and she arrived in camp to be placed under the same roof with Ann. Ann came from a home where wants were many. She was a frail child and some kind

friend, thinking a summer in camp would help her, had sent her to be with us. Once dressed in the regulation camp costume, rich and poor were alike, and Gertrude never knew that Ann came from an extremely needy home. From the first, they were friends, and throughout the summer their friendship grew. Of course it became known to Gertrude before long that Ann didn't have all that she had, but it seemed to make no difference. Ann had much less spending money than did Gertrude, and often the one with plenty would treat her little friend to something. This friendship seemed queer to many, and often people would remark that it was strange for one having as much as Gertrude to condescend to have Ann as a friend. At the close of the summer, Gertrude, then sixteen years of age, said to me, "I have learned more this summer than I ever have before in my life. Ever since I can remember I have associated with only those whom my parents chose for me to have as friends. They were always children of wealthy parents, and I was taught that children of poor parents were not fit for me to associate with. But this summer has taught me differently. My best friend here at camp has been a girl who has nothing at home like I have, but who is just as nice, in fact a lot nicer, than a lot of my friends at home." And this was Ann's reaction to it all. "Before this summer I always thought that rich children were snobs. I thought they were selfish and that they looked down on us who are poor. Gertrude isn't like that, and I don't believe she is nice to me just because she feels sorry for me, but because she really likes me. I guess I was all wrong about rich children."

Dorothy was an only child of very wealthy parents. From the time she was born she had always been cared for by governesses and special maids. Whenever she wanted clean clothes, she always found them neatly folded in her drawer, and it had never once entered her head as to who might have been responsible for their being there. After having been at camp only ten days Dorothy informed me one morning that she was going to have to buy eight new pairs of black stockings. "Eight new pairs of black stockings!" I exclaimed. "Why, Dorothy, you had eight new pairs when you came here only ten days ago." And then she told me the sad story of how every one of the eight pairs had holes in them. When I asked if they were very large holes, she remarked that most of them were about the size of a pin, but that of course she couldn't wear the stockings. To my

question as to why she didn't mend them, she answered that she didn't know what I meant! And then followed a lesson in mending stockings. Dorothy was perfectly delighted with the process, and thoroughly enjoyed the lesson, although she told me that she had never seen any one mend stockings before and that she hadn't known it was possible. How fortunate for this child that she landed in camp. Here at least was one way in which her affairs were directed, and without a doubt by leaving her maids and governesses behind her in the city, she learned more about handling her own affairs than she ever would have in many years had she remained with them through that summer she spent with us at camp.

"Identifying oneself with the achievements of others makes for a larger personality," say the psychologists. If this is true, then camp is an ideal place to develop the personality, for there the achievements of one are the achievements of all. If Jean wins the swimming meet for the Blues, all the Blues feel it is their victory. If Sally wins the tennis cup for the Whites, the whole team feels that it has won a victory. And if, in years to come, Jean wins a national swimming championship, or Sally becomes a professional at tennis, then all who knew them at camp will feel that they have some share in the victory. Surely this experience of camping with so many different individuals will make the personality grow. Just how much, we cannot say, for it will take a lifetime to trace down every situation where the contacts made at camp have been felt, and even then we would not have completed the task.

Many are the adjustments that have to be made at camp because of improper home environment. A few I have already mentioned, but the following case is perhaps more serious than many. Here, if the adjustment hadn't been made at camp, it never would have been made, perhaps, and the child would have gone through life with no individuality, no personality, and no ability to depend on herself.

Elizabeth had had one nurse from the time she was born until she came to camp at fifteen years of age. The nurse whom she called "Nanny" actually worshiped Elizabeth and never left her side. She accompanied her to a private school, took care of her all summer at their cottage in a fashionable beach resort, and morning, noon, and night was at the beck and call of Elizabeth. Somehow or other her parents decided to send Elizabeth to camp. They realized just how helpless she was becoming, but because they thought so much of

"Nanny," they continued to allow her to remain as Elizabeth's nurse. Much against Elizabeth's wishes, she arrived in camp and spent the first night in her life away from home and "Nanny." Needless to say, she became frightfully homesick, and it was a serious type of homesickness. She wouldn't eat, couldn't sleep, and seemed to imagine herself ill with all sorts of diseases. Her letters home were full of how very ill she was, and, had it not been for her sensible parents, she never would have remained with us. They wanted her to overcome her difficulties, and so they wrote cheerful letters to her, telling her they were glad she was accomplishing so much at camp, and that they would be up to see her soon. Telephone calls were made to the camp director to check up on the "illnesses" of their daughter, and the parents continued to wait and hope that Elizabeth would overcome her trouble. Finally, she became interested in dramatics, and the counselor in charge realized that here was her chance to help Elizabeth. A part was given her in a play, and Elizabeth set out to learn it. At first she refused to do it, saying that she was going home, but with a little flattery on the part of the leader, making Elizabeth believe that she was the only one to take the part, she went through with it. And to the amazement of all she was a huge success and walked away with all the honors of the play with her interpretation of the part of a colored maid. It was this success that changed her whole attitude. At last Elizabeth had found her place. She was the talk of the camp, and she felt very important. No more homesick letters were written, and no more pleadings to be taken home. And when the final day for camp came, and all had to leave, it was Elizabeth who shed the most tears at having to leave, and even the presence of "Nanny" in the car waiting for her "baby girl," as she put it, didn't help a bit. Here was a case of fixation which would have proved disastrous to the individuality and personality of this child had it not been corrected. It was a painful process to be sure, not only to Elizabeth herself, but to those of us who tried to help her. But in the end came success which made it all worth while.

In a camp where those in charge understand children, their needs, and especially the principles of psychology and mental hygiene, any child will be well along the road to successful living after only one summer spent in such an environment.

"Much happiness" is the aim of the curriculum in the summer camp. "Much happiness" is planned for from the first to the last day

of camp. And "much happiness" is necessary in mental hygiene, and so in the development of a personality which is well integrated, and full of individuality.

CASE 2.—A GOOD FOSTER HOME: ITS ACHIEVEMENTS AND LIMITATIONS.¹

Ten boys, four to ten years of age, were sent to this foster home, all but one remaining two or more years. Their intelligence quotients, some of which were high and others low, changed little, but the attitude and behavior of eight of the ten was completely transformed. Upon entrance each one exhibited one or more of a great variety of maladjustments: rowdyism, stealing, sex perversion of all sorts, moodiness, solitariness, enuresis, dirt-eating, temper tantrums, sadistic cruelty, etc.

In this home they were assured of personal regard, and were never threatened with being sent away. Each had a definite place of usefulness and responsibility, with facilities for play and a variety of projects. After a short residence the objectionable forms of behavior disappeared, usually without anything being said about them.

The home was not a highly cultured one, nor did the people have any special training in child management. The wife was "little and nice" and efficient; the husband, an unassuming house painter with mechanical ability who was at home nearly half the time. Both were interested in the boys and were good leaders. They punished occasionally, and always showed appreciation of individual achievements and improvements. They made no attempt to hold all of the boys to the same standards. The atmosphere of the home was one of cheerfulness, good humor, and optimism.

A son of a dementia precox woman who had previously been in several foster homes, felt at home in this one, but he was never well adjusted to his companions so that they enjoyed him and he them. The only other boy of the ten who did not seem to become fully normalized was the son of a woman who had hysterical paralysis.

All of the children were examined by experts, but none of them were given psychiatric treatment; hence all of the improvements were the result of the favorable environment.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. In view of man's dependence on socially produced materials and the working of social organizations, what sciences may contribute

¹ Carl R. Rogers, in *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1933, Vol. 17, pp. 21-40.

most to human welfare, those concerned with nature or with man?

2. Should the junior high schools, high schools, and colleges increase their offerings in the social sciences?

3. Mention state and national laws (*a*) inimical to mental health, (*b*) in the interest of mental health.

4. Should schools help pupils to choose vocations or merely provide training for vocations chosen?

5. Why are laws regulating eating and the wearing of clothes less likely to be obeyed than those regulating their production?

6. Is this a correct generalization: Actions that can be better controlled by the individual acting in his own interest than by general laws for all should be left to individual regulation? Cite a number of examples opposing or favoring this thesis.

7. Is there more or less reason for laws regulating marriage than for laws regulating sex activities? Why?

8. Is it true, as Lincoln Steffens claims, that well intentioned persons with high ideals are usually less successful in their administration when elected to public office, than skilled politicians? Why?

9. Would wiser laws change this situation? How?

10. Write a paper on punishment as a practice advantageous or disadvantageous in promoting healthful social functioning.

11. Is censorship of theater and motion pictures in the interest of mental hygiene? Why?

12. Do court procedures help people to adjust to each other more or less well than settlements by arbitration or by conciliation? Why?

13. Where are the problems of mental health most difficult of solution, in the home, in the school, in the state, or in special private organizations and societies?

14. Under modern conditions is it possible to realize life's possibilities as fully as under pioneer conditions? Are as large a proportion of people doing so? Give suggestions as to how more may be enabled to do so.

15. May any general theory of philosophy, religion, or ethics be helpful?

16. Study the quotations from the paper, "The Mental Hygiene Aspects of Summer Camps," and try to decide in each case how much of the improvement was due to the camp environment and its general regulations, and how much to individual treatment.

17. Could any of the means used be successfully employed in the home or in a school? If so, which ones?

18. What comments have you to make on the foster home described in Case 2?

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CHAPTER XIII

THE SCHOOLS AND MENTAL HYGIENE

Objectives and functions. The school constitutes a distinct organization within the historically developed and nationally recognized social group. It takes children with various native endowments and home and neighborhood environments, and undertakes to provide an environment and activities that will help them generally and individually to pass through the several stages of development, while adjusting to school requirements and preparing for adult life.

The problem of mental hygiene in school has two phases, one concerned with the general management of a school or schools, which is similar to that of public mental hygiene; and the other, of dealing with particular individuals who are not adjusting well to their environment, which is that of individual mental hygiene.

The policies of the school are to a considerable extent set by the state in its educational laws and by the sentiments of the patrons of the schools. They are further defined by educational traditions and practices, and in a minor degree shaped by individual administrators and teachers.

The school must accept the human material sent in accordance with the law, and in the main modify it in the direction demanded by outside agencies. On the other hand, the school for the most part is free to use the methods that it deems wisest in transforming the persons received into the sort of persons it is demanded should be sent out. The methods used must justify themselves in two ways: (1) by getting as many of the results demanded with as little expense as possible of time, energy, and

money, and (2) by making sure that the physical and mental health of all pupils is preserved and improved.

The pupil members of the school are largely free from economic responsibility while living, developing, and preparing for adult life. The general problem of educators is to provide an educational environment well adapted to promote the healthy living and development of the great majority of children at every stage of school life, while also preparing them to become successful members of the society into which they are to emerge. Sometimes educational thought has been dominated almost entirely by the latter purpose. Dewey's phrase, "Education is life, not a preparation for life," although only partly true, had a profound influence in making educators realize the importance of the first-named purpose.

Although educational thought has recognized need for practical education in the sense of training to meet the situations of adult life successfully, and is now emphasizing the purpose of developing the individual for satisfaction in living, educational practice has been largely dominated by traditional ideas and practices that demand the teaching of certain branches. In general, the pressure on teachers in connection with educational administration has been in the direction of inducing them to give most of their attention to seeing that pupils acquire the knowledge, skill, and conduct prescribed by tradition and outlined in the courses of study. The success of schools and teachers is judged primarily by the pupils' acquisition of the knowledge necessary to the promotion to the next grade or the next higher school. This tends to emphasize the meeting of school standards rather than healthful and satisfactory living as the purpose of education. With the schools organized and administered so as to show progress toward the desired knowledge goals, few teachers can resist the pressure to make the reaching of such goals the chief object of their efforts. It is therefore useless to tell them that their chief aim should be the development of

healthy personality. Rather it is better to admit that they must meet the educational standards; at the same time, however, they must find ways of doing so that will not disturb, but will promote, healthy personality development.

In the realm of physical health this responsibility is already recognized, and to a considerable extent accepted, by administrators and teachers. Children are now better guarded against infectious diseases inside the school-room than they are outside. It is beginning to be recognized that mental health is of equal importance, but traditional procedures are not always favorable to healthful practices. The science of mental health is only partly developed, and teachers have not been well trained in the use of what is already known about it.

The more progressive schools have been emphasizing other aims than those of mere giving of knowledge of the traditional sort, but so far the changes in activities of pupils provided in such schools are regarded by the public as "fads and frills" rather than as the fundamentals of education. Although the curriculum has been greatly broadened in most schools, and activities other than learning have been given a considerable place, yet schools are, and doubtless will continue for some time to be, administered for the purpose of giving knowledge, with other activities given only secondary consideration. Teachers must succeed in having the pupils gain the required information either by direct study and memorization, or incidentally while engaging in interesting, healthful activities of various sorts. Most progressive educators are now prepared to accept the responsibility of seeing that, while studying many new things and engaging in a great variety of activities not formerly recognized in schools, pupils are gaining as much of the essentials of traditional knowledge as the pupils of former generations, and at the same time developing more healthy personalities.

The school world. The schools have to a considerable extent organized a separate world. This school world, although

subject to some general control by the larger adult group authorizing it and supporting it financially, is for the most part what school administrators have made it. Traditionally, and in fact, the school has the status of a province over which appointed officials have absolute control subject to an appeal to higher authorities.

Until recently these officials had the arbitrary authority traditionally exercised by parents. The spread of democratic practices to all sorts of organizations, however, is changing this status of superintendents and teachers. The need of preparing for the democratic society outside of school has had its influence in introducing some features of democracy into the school administration and into the classroom. This partial substitution of self-direction on the part of teachers and pupils for the former subordination to personal and often arbitrary authority is of great advantage to the mental health of all concerned, as well as a preparation for the functions of a democratic citizenship outside of school.

Probably no adult community has continuously as suitable rulers and leaders as fall to the lot of the pupils in the best schools. The school world is thus a partial realization of Plato's ideal of a society in which "philosophers rule and slaves [parents and the state] furnish the necessities of life," and the school citizens enjoy the advantages of being members of such a group.

The absorption of school leaders in making this school world what they think it should be, however, has to a considerable extent shut them off from the larger world of society and given school objectives more prominence than life objectives. Children are sometimes expelled, "frozen out," or subdued in order to maintain school standards and the smooth working of the school system, regardless of what happens to them individually, or how much of a menace they may later prove to society. An elaborate system of grading and artificial stimulation is maintained to induce or force pupils to meet school standards, many of which

have little significance in the larger world of life, and devotion to which often interferes with healthy physical and mental development.

The material surroundings of buildings and equipment and the choice and arrangement of educational facilities are now frequently much better than in the homes of most of the pupils. Recently also, many adaptations of equipment and activities have been made for pupils of varying interests, abilities, and deficiencies, which have helped prepare them for their special niche in the outside world and promoted their mental health. The establishment of trade, part-time, and continuation schools, and of classes for adults, has had considerable influence in producing adjustments of the school world to the outside world.

The school population has recently been greatly enlarged in one direction by the establishment of kindergartens and nursery schools, and in the other by increased facilities for secondary and higher education. These help to facilitate the transition from the home to the school world and from the school to adult society, and have some influence in diminishing the dominantly scholastic attitude of the school.

The entire freedom of teachers and pupils from the responsibilities of raising school funds and of expending them wisely has doubtless contributed to the weakness of the schools in failing to give pupils any practical financial training. School savings banks and some of the mathematical and economic teaching has provided only a slight substitute.

The curriculum and personality development. The kindergarten and nursery schools are more concerned with development than with knowledge, and the later vocational schools with special knowledges and skills; while the intermediate years are largely occupied with what is supposed to be advantageous for all. The selection and arrangement of educational materials for the various purposes constitutes the curriculum. Formerly the curriculum was narrow, traditional, and adapted to the so-

cial status, mental ability and prospective vocation of one class of people: that is, the professional class. This course was continuous and made obligatory for all, partly because of tradition and partly because of the belief that it afforded good mental discipline. The old subjects still retain much of their prestige in the minds of teachers and parents. Of many additions made, some give knowledge of value to all in modern life and others are supposed to be helpful in personality development.

It is generally accepted that for several years, starting with children of five or more, the curriculum should be adapted to what is needed by every one; while after that it should offer at least partly differentiated courses to persons of different endowments and vocational and other interests.

The enlarged elementary curriculum has been adopted in recognition of social changes and because the schools have taken over some of the functions of other institutions, especially those of the home. Household and manual training are given a place because of a public demand that the schools shall be practical—give something besides word knowledge—and because educators have become convinced that such training is favorable to personality development.

In the junior high schools the courses have been specialized for persons of special types of ability, schooling, and vocational prospects, and to some extent to meet individual interests. These changes, which were initiated by the elective system in the colleges, are now provided in optional courses of study with some elective subjects in high schools and junior high schools, and are advantageous to the mental hygiene of a great many youths.

The curriculum of the first five or more grades is, in general, favorable to the mental health of pupils provided the schools do not adhere to the same time schedule for pupils of all grades of ability. Adjustments are sometimes made by grouping children according to ability into three groups—one consisting of about 60 per cent who are near the average, and two other groups

of nearly equal size, one composed of inferior and the other of superior individuals. Another method is to make no special grouping, but to arrange definite units of work with possible extras, and allow each pupil to master these to a standard extent as fast as he can. The first procedure is largely initiated and controlled by the administrator, while the second demands more adjustment by the teacher. Either is likely to be more favorable to the mental health than the more common practice of trying to induce individuals of varying endowment to do the same amount and kind of work in the same time.

A definite curriculum makes objectives clearer and helps in measuring progress. It also diminishes wasteful effort and thus seems to promote efficiency in the work of the school. These advantages are greatest in mass education. Some persons having strong inner trends, if placed in a favorable environment, will continually choose and assimilate that which best accords with their nature, just as a healthy person may thrive on eating according to appetite instead of according to a prepared plan. A large proportion of persons are, however, benefited by observing some general regulations as to subjects taken and rate of progress such as is prescribed in outlines of courses of study.

One of the serious disadvantages of the use of curricula, especially when knowledges and skills are emphasized, is that they tend to segregate knowledge into compartments. In an integrated personality, knowledges and skills are means to the attainment of desired ends. Many pupils, however, fill up one compartment after another, without using anything they have learned in school to accomplish the ends they desire, and with little or no appreciation of the relationships of the knowledges acquired. Carefully collected piles of lumber, stones, cement, sand, nails, glass, and paint do not make a house; neither do acquired knowledges and skills necessarily develop a unified personality.

A series of activities or projects in which knowledges and

skills are means to ends have definite advantages in the development of the personality. It is difficult, however, to systematize and coördinate series of projects in such a way as to be suitable to the personality development of persons of various endowments and interests. If projects are all prescribed and their execution directed by the teacher, many pupils are uninterested in them, while some, if not all, get little or no experience in learning how to adjust means to ends they really care to gain.

A skilful teacher can often avoid these disadvantages by promoting group projects interesting to all, in which each can use his special ability. Mass, as distinguished from individual education, will probably be carried on ultimately by means of curricula consisting of classified knowledges, but also providing opportunities for projects, some of which are coöperative and others individual. These will give children experiences similar to those outside of the school world, and will be favorable to the development of individual personalities.

Aims in special subjects. Studies should be adapted to the needs of pupils at different stages of knowledge, skill, and personality development. The goals should be such as can be reached without too prolonged effort and, when reached, should be used in attaining other goals. The outcome of elementary-school training should be such ability and speed in reading, writing, arithmetic, etc. as will facilitate the attainment of many common adult goals, and prepare for special vocations and stations in life.

Getting thought rapidly from the printed page is useful to every one in present-day life, but especially so to those using books a great deal. Persons going to college and into professions need to attain a much higher standard of speed and efficiency in reading than is necessary for most other people.

In a related subject like spelling, the goal for all should be *correct* spelling of all words that the pupil writes. This means knowing how to spell the most commonly used words, and con-

sulting the dictionary or learning to spell all other words that one has occasion to use. There is nothing gained in efficiency nor from the standpoint of mental hygiene by having pupils compete to see which can get the highest number correct in an assigned list of words, many of which the pupils never have occasion to write.

Writing or penmanship for most persons is not an art to be cultivated intensely and permanently, but a necessary and convenient means of recording and communicating. The chief standard goal is minimum time and effort involved on the part of writer and reader. The legibility and rapidity of writing must be such that, on the one hand, people shall not waste time and make mistakes in reading it, and on the other, that the writer shall not spend an undue amount of time and effort in practice, or in the writing process. Unlike spelling, perfection is not the goal, but a degree of legibility required for social purposes, attained and practised by the individual until without effort he habitually writes at such speed as best serves his own purposes. Competition should be with himself as he moves toward the above standard, with no special attention directed to what others are doing.

In arithmetic, as in spelling, the only justifiable standard is accuracy in whatever operations are attempted. After this has been attained, there are some advantages in measuring the time required while practising to secure reasonable speed as a habit. The individual would best compete except incidentally, chiefly with himself and an average standard for his grade, rather than with others.

In physical training the best standard for most pupils from the mental-hygiene point of view is pleasure in doing with the degree of skill that most children of his age can reach by reasonable practice, rather than the highest records that have ever been made.

In artistic lines the only justifiable standards are those high

enough to induce improvement, but not so high as to cause serious discouragement.

In social subjects, acquiring general information and developing attitudes favorable to good citizenship are the ends to be gained. The essentials are (1) individual freedom and wisdom in judging, and (2) respect for the opinions of others. More definite standards, if set up by state and schools, are likely to increase propaganda and to result in prejudices destructive of individual judgments and of coöperative attitudes.

Methods in curricular activities. Since it is considered impractical for each pupil to be provided with a wise and tactful tutor, a completely individual system of education is rarely attempted. The school administrator, like the public-health officer, deals with masses and is chiefly responsible for the conditions and regulations to which all persons are subjected. He fails if a large proportion of his pupils do not make successful and healthful adjustments to the environment he provides. In order that such success may be assured, the curriculum and regulations must be definite and not too detailed, and not too strictly applied to exceptional individuals.

Material equipment for the school, curricular methods in general, and essential regulations and procedures should all be determined by administrators on the basis of their general suitability. The teachers by the help of specialists should adjust these to special conditions and to the needs of individuals.

Good posture is one of the most important conditions of physical and mental health, but both are seriously interfered with if a child is required to maintain a position in imitation of good posture for long periods of time, however well planned the seats and desks may be, and however accurate were the measurements before seating the pupil. The child who has assumed in an hour a dozen different standing and sitting positions that seemed most comfortable to him is likely to have a better posture development than one who has stood or sat all the time in the

most approved position. Equipment and exercises used when pupils are working or playing should make it inevitable and comfortable to assume good posture frequently, and bad posture rarely.

Similar principles are involved in prescribing courses and methods for children. For example, it is well to select the script forms in penmanship carefully, to set a standard of perfection for writing, to provide suitable equipment and seating for writing, and a motive to induce voluntary effort. One teacher obtained very good habits of writing without lessons or special equipment by merely returning for rewriting all papers that could not be easily read. Early, strict, and detailed requirements for position, movements, slant, rate, etc. have some of the same results as trying to keep the child in a standard position in a standard seat. The desired results are frequently not secured, and a child is often fatigued, uncomfortable, and irritated. In few penmanship classes where all are practising under the same detailed directions, do *all* the pupils conform to the requirements during the whole of the period. Half an hour later when taking dictation or writing a composition or examination, scarcely *any* of them will be in position and using the prescribed movements.

The same principles apply to methods in all subjects and raise the question whether there is a real and permanent advantage in having specific methods of learning to read, write, and compute prescribed in detail by administrators and adjusted and enforced by teachers; or whether, if the standards are set and materials provided, it is not better to let the children, with the help of some suggestions, find the best way of meeting the standards. It is certain that, if the latter policy is followed and succeeds, many conflicts and repressions will be avoided by such pupil responsibility.

However, it is possible to prescribe a *general* method of procedure and to arrange a series of situations that will induce all

the children to react in nearly the same way, and to be in a favorable condition for the next series of learning reactions. If this is skilfully done, efficient methods of learning may be followed with few directions and little voluntary effort. The chief advantage of having all learn by the same method is that a group can be kept progressing by the same route toward the goal; whereas if no general plan is followed, each pupil would have to be watched and helped individually. This method would demand a much more intelligent teacher, working with fewer pupils, than if all are dealt with according to a general plan. Not infrequently, however, the approach to a goal, if accompanied by many detailed directions, diverts attention from the problem, retards learning, and fails to develop responsibility.

It is neither efficient nor hygienic to drill on parts until automatic habits are formed before practising their use in combinations and in gaining ends. In teaching typewriting, for example, it may be worth while to insist on the touch system, to give some practice in using finger combinations, and to make accuracy rather than speed the goal at first; but the same letter combination should not be written over and over a great number of times before beginning to write from miscellaneous copy or dictation. Habits formed in copying sentences will function better than those formed by separate drill on letter combinations and will be better integrated with thought processes.

Administrators who require much memorizing and drill, and who test for special facts and skills rather than for an ability to use facts and skills in concrete life situations, may make a good curriculum inefficient and subversive of a well integrated personality development. On the other hand, an administrator who has a large proportion of the learning take place in connection with ends desired is calling forth integrative activity and helping to form useful habits.

Secondary and higher education now offers a much broader curriculum than formerly, but it is probably less well

adjusted to the needs of youths than the elementary curriculum is to children. When the curricula were first made for high schools and colleges, not only were the various branches of knowledge much less extensive than now and their significance to present and future civilization different, but the persons going to the schools of secondary and higher education were a select group. A large proportion of them were of a high grade of intelligence and from families of a higher social status, most of whom were preparing for the professions. At present in both secondary and higher institutions of learning there are many more persons of medium grade of intelligence than there are of high grade. They come from families of all kinds of social status except the lowest, and they are headed for every vocation above that of common laborer.

The demand that the schools shall give what its patrons desire has caused the addition of one subject after another to the list that must or may be taken. However, the older subjects and courses have retained their prominence among those required of all students. It is now the thing for nearly all families to have their children graduate from high school, and many from college. The requirements usually favor the subjects of the traditional curriculum with the result that many youths, unfitted by natural endowment and by vocational needs for success in traditional subjects, are nevertheless pursuing them. Failures in algebra, geometry, and Latin are numerous. Pupils who are not spontaneously or vocationally interested in such subjects, but who are able to pass them, gain only a superficial, temporary knowledge that has little effect upon subsequent practical success or personality development. Those who fail in subjects pursued are often handicapped in future personality development, whereas those who pass, but never use most of what they have learned, have wasted much of their time in non-integrative activities.

Such failure and wasted effort are not confined to the pursuit of the traditional subjects, but often occur in other subjects

taken merely in order to graduate. For these reasons the secondary and higher curricula do not give the results demanded by the state and by mental hygiene as successfully as the curriculum of the elementary schools. The elementary curriculum has been evolved as ideas of society and of educators have changed, and the adjustments have been made in time requirements in relation to individual ability so that in the best schools the pupils are prepared for life in ways that are advantageous to their personality development.

The desire for a diploma and for the prestige of a high rank has dominated high-school and college teachers and students, rather than the natural desire to learn what is interesting or what will be useful.

The high school, confronted with additional numbers of pupils of average or less ability and pressed on the one hand by public sentiment and college requirements to maintain more or less traditional standards, and on the other by the public demands for a more practical education, has found it very difficult to formulate a curriculum and to adjust it to the ability and interests of pupils so as to meet the ideals of society and of mental hygienists.

Pupils cannot be prepared in high school for all vocations, nor can they all have the same amount and kind of cultural and avocational training. This difficulty is partly met by prescribing general courses of study suited for the majority of students, specialized courses suited to students of similar endowments and vocational purposes, and by giving individuals freedom of choice of subjects with the hope that pupils will choose the educational facilities best suited to their endowments and interests. So far the results are not entirely satisfactory, but researches showing the necessary relations between subjects offered and cultural and vocational objectives, and how to determine what grade of abilities and types of interest can profit by these subjects, are now being utilized in outlining courses and in

the vocational and educational guidance of individual pupils.

The place of regulations in the schools. The possible advantages of school-management methods are very much the same as in traffic control. When there are no signal lights at a street crossing where the view is obstructed, most drivers slow down, a few do not, and a few make a complete stop. If traffic is very light, collisions are rare and delays slight. If traffic becomes very heavy, however, the difficulties are greatly multiplied. A police officer at the crossing may, according to his good or poor judgment, greatly decrease accidents and cause only slight delays, or fail to decrease accidents and greatly increase annoyances. If automatic light signals are installed where there is only light traffic, most drivers will stop, and there will be unnecessary delay and annoyance, and little or no decrease in accidents. Automatic signals placed where traffic is heavy, especially if arranged at well timed intervals, will decrease accidents, increase the rate at which most persons can travel safely, and annoyance will be reduced to a minimum.

Similar truths apply to all school regulations. The larger the classes and schools and the more they are dealt with in the mass, the more necessary is some uniformity in procedure and control and the more important it is that all regulation shall be wisely made. In a system of individual teaching the pupils would have to adapt themselves to the teacher who might or might not be wise; whereas in mass education teachers and pupils all adjust to regulations and methods that should have been proven efficient by previous observation and experience. In order to be of advantage, however, they must demonstrably be such that the pupils will find their work facilitated, and will be repressed and annoyed only temporarily.

A school is well organized and administered when pupils easily and quickly become adjusted to its regulations—such as when and where to enter the building, leave their wraps, find their places and equipment, and how to respond to signals, etc.,

etc. If care is exercised at the beginning, pupils may almost spontaneously form these habits as their individual modes of behavior, just as motorists respond to traffic signals; on the other hand, a teacher giving individual commands either fails to bring order out of confusion, or represses the children so that they break into wild disorder as soon as they emerge from school.

Regulations should be administered in such a way that the school will not only be orderly but that habits, ideas, and ideals of order will be assimilated by the individual pupils and become an integrated part of their personality, and will function whatever their surroundings may be.

Schools having many regulations poorly administered are more injurious than helpful. Only regulations that are followed and that prove of benefit to the individual in his life activities are justified by the results. Just as good rules in games, when observed, make the games enjoyable, so adherence to well planned social regulations of whatever sort greatly facilitates the attainment of individual and group ends and the enjoyment of life.

Methods also are justified only when they facilitate rather than hinder pupils in their learning activities. The more wise and skilled the teachers, the more advantageously may general regulations as to methods be limited to a few essentials.

Individual competition in schools. Neither animals nor human beings behave the same when they are alone as when with others of their kind. If all are nearly equal and trying for the same goals, each individual is usually stimulated to greater efforts by companions. All records of races of horses or men show greater speed when companions are pacing or competing. In other words, one cannot possibly make himself run as rapidly alone as when he runs with the stimulus of a competitor. This fact of social psychology is one of the reasons why tutoring individuals is so different from teaching a class.

It is not difficult to utilize this natural reaction to social con-

ditions in a class, but differing abilities must be considered, and care must be taken that surpassing others does not become the dominating motive instead of an incident in gaining some end. In many schools the attempt is made to have unequals compete for first place, and this means that only a few are induced to do their best. Any individual who is slower than others may become confused by trying to keep up with them, or he may become discouraged and drop to a speed even slower than when he is working alone. At the other end of the scale, the speedy individual often slows down when he finds that he can easily keep ahead. In such cases increase of competition does not even increase efficiency. From the standpoint of mental hygiene the competition of unequal individuals is bad because it greatly increases the consciousness of failure on the part of many and allows others to seem to succeed too easily. When those competing are nearly equal, speed is often overemphasized at the expense of accuracy.

If rewards or honors for attaining the highest records are great, the competition among a very few may become intense. This often leads to repressions of natural impulses and to overstrain, both of which are very unfavorable to healthy functioning. It is clear, then, that, although incidental competition is inevitable, effective, and not unhealthful, care must be exercised lest it become too intense. When the individuals are nearly equal in the ability being exercised, the dangers are least, and the advantages are the same as in healthful games and sports.

Competition cannot be wisely used by grouping pupils according to chronological age, size, mental ability, or educational advancement, and then having them compete in *all* lines. If competition is to be extensively employed with advantage, there must be different grouping for each kind of activity involved. The better schools are now grouping children (for example, home-room children) on one basis for a variety of activities that are

not competitive, while other groups are arranged for special activities where competition is incidentally present, and occasionally intentionally made more prominent.

There are reasons for believing that competition in America has been overemphasized everywhere, not only in school but in industries, in business, and in sports and games. The wisest industrial leaders are finding that over a long period of time a group of contented workmen attaining reasonable standards are more efficient than a group continually speeded up by devices to increase individual competition. When there is piece work, "pace-setters" make their fellow-workers dissatisfied, and the pace-makers usually slacken or become irregular workers who cannot be depended upon to be present when needed.

Merchants have generally adopted the one-price policy and ceased "cutthroat" competition, though competing in less direct ways by offering various facilities and conveniences to customers. Even if "competition is the life of trade," most people now know that extreme and prolonged competition is the death of trade.

Many sports and nearly all games are interesting because they involve competition for supremacy between players, although the mere enjoyment of successes, similar to those involved in solving puzzles, is a factor. There is pleasure in doing anything well, but in most games the pleasure is in doing it a little better than one's opponent, whether that means little or much skill. Prizes and honors and permanent records of achievements in sports, athletics, and games tend to destroy the value that comes from being pleasurable in the doing and recreational in their effects. In work the chief aim is not the pleasure of doing or of beating some one else, but in the permanent and worth-while results achieved.

In schools where there is much competition and where permanent records of achievement are kept in the form of grades rather than in specimens of work done, attention is focused on

surpassing others, especially in the marks received, rather than on using suitable means of attaining ends of permanent value and usefulness. There is good reason, therefore, for holding that in preparing for the work and the enjoyment of life the schools have stimulated competition too much, especially in certain activities. Excessive rivalry with other individuals, of whatever kind, is unfavorable to satisfactory social adjustments, and hence, even if temporarily efficient in promoting effort, is not justifiable from the standpoint of mental hygiene.

Scout organizations, by setting up various goals or achievement standards, have found a partial substitute for individual competition. The same idea is now being applied by directors of playgrounds, in setting standards for various ages that most boys (or girls) can reach after reasonable practice. In many schools children are also practising to reach certain standards of achievement in the fundamental subjects, instead of competing to see who is the best.

Group competition and coöperation. Competition between groups inevitably stimulates coöperation of the individuals of each group. Coöperation is generally most effective when the members of a group vary in degree and kind of ability and each one contributes to the success of all by doing that for which he is best fitted. In recent years schools have encouraged group competition, and thus stimulated coöperation of individuals. Even when all are doing the same thing—for example, trying to make a high group average in spelling, addition, attendance, or jumping—the poorest even more than the best may contribute to the success of his group by improving his performance; whereas in the old-fashioned spelling contest the group depended upon a few best spellers for its success. One of the chief advantages of group contests is that common interests are emphasized, and all the members of the group gain by the successes of the others, the self of each thus being enlarged through identification.

Coöperation involves adherence to a common plan and also individual adjustments of each to the others, and thus individual behavior is naturally regulated more than in individual competition. The fact that a great variety of abilities may often be utilized in coöperation gives a chance for more individuals to succeed and to contribute to worth-while ends. For these reasons coöperative activities not only prepare for citizenship, but also promote the mental health of all. They may be stimulated by common aims without engaging in contests with other groups, but are readily increased by group contests.

When competitions between the same groups are frequent, intense loyalty to one's group may be highly developed; but, on the other hand, hatred for the opposing group may become even stronger, and each group may try to injure the other instead of trying to become more skilful in gaining its own ends. This prepares for warfare rather than for the arts of peace. In schools the disadvantages of excessive rivalry between groups are decreased by occasional regrouping in which there is coöperation with former opponents.

The most successful men in competitive business devote their efforts to surpassing their competitors rather than to injuring them. (Salesmen are now directed to waste no time in "knocking" their competitors.)

Coöperation without any formal or emphasized competition is now being promoted successfully in progressive schools by means of group projects and club activities in ways that prepare for modern adult living, and help the individual, while adjusting to the activities of others, to develop his own personality to his own satisfaction.

Competition is still overemphasized in most schools because only a little knowledge and skill is required to use their incentive; but arousing interest in group projects by other means requires thought, good judgment, and tact. Teachers of the future will concern themselves less with getting immediate re-

sults by exciting competitions, and more with the kind of spirit developed in the group and the effects on the mental health of the various participants.

CASE 1.—I have a boy in my room whom I have considered impossible, not worth wasting time on. One day I read in Menninger, "The teacher takes away a child's last chance when she despairs of his ability to develop, and doesn't give him a chance." This set me thinking. Was I really doing that? Was I making myself responsible for that child's future failure? I began to give him his chance. The result is not marvelous if looked at from a scholastic point of view. He cannot read any better than before. But he is happy. Where there was once a sulky pout and an inattentive air, there is now a very attractive, smiling face and an alert manner.

CASE 2.—The class that came to the gymnasium was the "opportunity" group in which was a girl who did not play with the others and was very forlorn.

When the command "fall-in" was given, she came into line with the others. At the command "right-dress" I noticed that she did not assume the normal position. The next command demanded running and she dropped out of line. While the others were running, I made her acquaintance and learned that she was crippled in leg and arm from infantile paralysis.

She had not played with other children and so had not learned to adjust herself to them. The first week I asked her if she just wanted to look on and see what the others did. This pleased her and seemed to take a load from her mind.

The next week Mary came down and wore her uniform. I decided she had a great desire to play with the others, so when she asked me if it was all right for her to play—her mother thought it might be too much—I told her to try it out three weeks and see how she felt and maybe she would enjoy it.

As I had had a little experience with crippled children the previous summer I knew they did not care for too much sympathy and wanted to be treated as though they could do as well as other children. I told Mary about these boys and girls and what they did and how they played. I explained that we did not mind if the ball did not go where we wished, but what we desired was that the arm or leg got exercise.

As a result of our campaign she became much happier. The next year her school work improved so that she was promoted to a higher group. A decided growth in arm and leg took place. Her limp was much less, and she now wants to play basketball. She has become much more sociable and when talking with her last week she said, "I love my school this year."

CASE 3.—As we go to other cities and visit the schools, we feel that our building is well taken care of and free from defacement by the children. In September our school is always clean, well painted, and in good repair. The children are trained to feel that the school is theirs and that they have a responsibility in maintaining its appearance. They pick up papers around the grounds and basements if they see any, but are careful to put things into receptacles provided for them. We never have writing in the basements as we did in my school days. Older girls deem it a privilege to take care of the teachers' room—dusting, arranging flowers, furniture, etc., and keeping the room attractive. Boys ask if they may sweep the room on the nights the janitor does not come. If the boys break a window, they immediately report it, collect the money for fixing it, take it to the glazier's and have the glass set without interference from any one. They rarely break any glass, however.

The school playground presents many problems in discipline. We are fortunate in having a large playground equipped with football, quoits, volley ball and net, dodge ball, jump ropes, donated by the Woman's Club. Many organized games are taught to them. Each child is allowed to play in the group of his choice, and a number of activities are going on at the same time. Even the shy child finds a game he wants to play after a while. Troubles have been reduced to a minimum.

CASE 4.—Realizing that coming to kindergarten is the first step outside the home, we try to make the change to the new environment as easy as possible. In this environment the child finds himself a member of a group of individuals of like age, like size, like capabilities and interests. Such a contrast to the little world he knew at home in which he was so much the center. "Now he needs to measure himself with those who are much like himself. . . . At first he acts along side of his playmates in his own peculiar way, then, discovering mutual interests, he acts with them and finds greater joy in the shared activity than in independent action."

During a few days at the beginning I make no difference between what is really play or what would be considered constructive work. Thus a child is free to occupy himself with so-called table work which is more or less quiet, or to play with toys that call for more activity in all parts of the room. He takes delight in running, shouting, and laughing in his aimless play. With a large group it is hard to control so much freedom and not let it fall into license. This unorganized stage lasts only a short while.

For the protection of the children and to conform to school customs and conventions, we needs must establish some rules at first. Later, as occasions demand, more are added, the children often helping to make them. We allow freedom controlled by social responsibility until freedom controlled from within takes its place. This, of course, comes slowly with little children. We build up confidence in the teacher so the children learn to obey cheerfully, although the reason for doing so is not always known to them. By indirect ways we teach our children self-control, utilizing their nervous energy to develop "new and healthful forms of activity to take the place of less wholesome ones."

The child learns to give and take, an essential necessary for him to become a welcome member of the group. If his habits and behavior, however pleasing to himself, interfere with the pleasure and comfort of others, he learns to give them up. He also learns early that to be the object of disapproval is most discomforting since children are very frank with one another.

Every child should have opportunity to choose at times for himself, opportunity to find means to carry out his desires, and opportunities to experience the full responsibility of so doing. If he succeeds, he will feel the satisfaction that comes from accomplishment. If he fails, the lesson learned from the failure will help him in meeting future experiences. If not too great, failure is often a stimulus to greater effort.

The kindergarten of to-day allows such freedom of choice. The child's stage of development determines his choice and also his interest span in carrying out his project. If the experience is accompanied with pleasure and satisfaction, he is willing to repeat it.

It is not possible for children to excel in all things, but we try to make each one conscious of being able to do some one thing well. Before the school year is over even the shyest child forgets himself in his joy in being a part of some activity.

We try to develop self-reliance and self-dependence. It is hard at times not to interfere with the child's ways of doing things which take time and do not always reach adult standards. Still we try to keep in the background, ready to help or suggest if necessary. In helping him to help himself, we are teaching him to manage situations of increasing complexity in proportion to his increasing ability.

Our periods of close attention are short, frequent changes of occupation are made, and rest periods for quiet and relaxation are provided. We try to avoid undue excitement, changing the program when necessary for the benefit of the children.

From my experience with the preschool child I have found that the factors of oversize, color, race, or physical handicaps, though bad for the one possessing them, do not prevent him from making good contacts as far as the group is concerned. In most cases they are too young to realize what the handicap means. Connie, of Chinese-American parentage, after a little difficulty at first, was admired and as much of a favorite as if her parents had reached these shores in the *Mayflower*. Her ability to dance established her as a member of the group.

It is the child with a complex of one kind or another who the kindergartener, like a clever hostess, tries to be on the alert to make happy and feel at ease. In all behavior problems we endeavor as far as possible to find the cause. By reconditioning, a good habit is substituted for a bad one, for most habits can be changed if time, patience, and persistence are used. What is habit to-day will be second nature to-morrow.

CASE 5.—An early experience of my own, of which I am ashamed, illustrates the futility of making impulsive promises of punishment. In my second year of teaching, the seats in the room were of the sliding kind, and I had been annoyed by their being let down with a bang. So I foolishly said, "The next pupil who drops her seat shall have her hands slapped." To my dismay, one of the best behaved girls in the school accidentally made a disturbance with her seat. I was young and ignorant, so I punished her because I had said I would, knowing that she never would have made the disturbance purposely. I always feel uncomfortable and inferior when I see that girl approaching me—she is now a young woman.

CASE 6.—A good illustration of the "queer" type is a boy who was sent to my room to see what effect a change in environment would

have. Soon afterwards we were instructed to tell the children that several school buildings had been defaced, and request them to let the buildings alone. Upon returning to school I went entirely around it to see if any such conditions existed there. Found *none*. I was loath to mention it to our classes, as the damage had been done by others, but having been so instructed, I did as I was commanded. A light snow fell during the night. Approaching the building in the early morning, it was plainly evident that during the night something had happened. Quite high, about in the center of the front wall two bricks had been loosened and removed. The red brick siftings which had been dug out in order to make the bricks removable covered the white snow; this was what attracted my attention. I waited until my class was well organized, and quietly said, "I'm going to ask a question. Will the boy who removed the bricks from the front wall of this school building please stand up? Has he the moral courage?" All was quiet as a death chamber. Again, I repeated my question; to my great amazement this youth arose. I asked him where the bricks were, why he had removed them, and what tools were used. He replied, "After you told us *not* to destroy the building I began to think I must. I went to the Lincoln Iron Works where I had two big knives and a chisel sharpened. I brought along a hammer, too. I did the job about midnight and was alone." I asked him if he would go home, get the bricks, take them to the superintendent of schools and explain to him what had happened. He agreed to this and did exactly as he agreed. The superintendent met him frankly, had a mason replace the bricks, and the boy paid to the City Treasurer the sum of two dollars. He was apparently not disturbed by what had happened.

CASE 7.—Elizabeth was a great problem to her teachers. She was generally well behaved in the morning, but something would always happen during the day. She would lose her temper, strike other children, defy her teachers. Her marks in school were generally good except for conduct and effort.

She had an older brother who was an excellent student. His success irritated her though she did not like to admit this. She was not happy and said it was because her teacher and the other pupils did not like her and her parents did not love her.

Her teachers tried to overlook her behavior and worked hard to help her pass. She impressed every one as being intelligent, and they felt she should make her grade. The parents paid no attention to her

studies because they felt those were being attended to at school. They were anxious, however, about her behavior and willing that she be taken to the clinic for study. Her achievement tests showed that, though she was in the fourth grade, she could not read up to second grade standards. The teacher reported that she received good marks in her tests in geography and elementary history which were given orally, but she did not do so well in her daily work.

Through observation they found that her outbursts of temper and bad behavior came when she would have to read; the teacher said it was always so, but she had never connected the two before. The girl knew that she could not read but was determined that no one should find this out. So her bad behavior was a bluff to distract attention; sometimes she gained her end by being very good.

She was placed in another home-room for awhile, and teacher, psychiatrist, and psychologist worked together to help her. She worked very hard for more than a year, and can now read with her grade and deserves her marks. Her temper is gone, and loyalty has taken its place.

CASE 8.—I have a horror of mental arithmetic. I have been in classes in which arithmetic was taught from nine in the morning until the noontime bell rang. The first half hour was given over to mental drill, to "square fifteen" or say the tables backward, or to complete some problem that was given. The teacher demanded instant answers and since I usually had to make haste slowly it is needless to say that the morning was usually a nightmare to me. Another thing I remember was that the teacher had a sarcastic way of speaking, and since the fear of being scolded was strong, I was not above copying answers and examples to serve in completing the morning class work. Perhaps my answer would have been that every one did it in that room. Even now, while playing at cards I seldom add a score if others are waiting, or if there is a chance of having some one else to do it.

CASE 9.—The children in a first grade were told to fold hands and sit quietly for twenty minutes while another group was reciting. Margaret, a very active, and, to my way of thinking, a very normal child, touched the shoulder of Jane, her special friend, who sat in front of her. The teacher saw the act and immediately scolded Margaret for disobedience and for pulling Jane's hair (which she had not done). The teacher by way of punishment told Jane to pull

Margaret's hair, but Jane refused. Then the teacher told another little girl to pull Margaret's hair, which she did, and Margaret retaliated by pulling the hair of three or four children. Investigation proved that Margaret was only looking for her own pencil which she had loaned to Jane. This did not end the affair, however. Later the entire class was called upon to tell whom they thought were the naughtiest children in the room. The majority voted for Margaret and Jane. From that day Margaret was a most unhappy child—so unhappy that her father decided to take her out of school. He said that Margaret was beginning to hate school and teacher, and her education might better wait a year than have her personality damaged.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. Do part-time schools and schools for adult education help to improve the separate school world or to make it become more like the outside world? Which is desirable?

2. Do you know of any teacher (*a*) who is successful in having a large proportion of her pupils make high achievement scores, but many of whose pupils are not in good mental health; (*b*) whose pupils are happy and healthful in school, but behind in school subjects; (*c*) who achieves both ends; (*d*) who achieves neither end? Are the differences chiefly due to (*a*) what purpose is most prominent in their minds; (*b*) the methods used; or (*c*) the personality of the teachers?

3. Discuss manual activities in the school-room from the mental-hygiene point of view.

4. What are the advantages to mental health of keeping children of the same mental age together (*a*) in all their work; (*b*) in some of it only?

5. Discuss the comparative advantages for mental health (*a*) of following courses of study, and (*b*) of engaging in individual projects, or (*c*) group projects.

6. What are the advantages from the mental-hygiene point of view of having the pupils provided with standards of achievement so that they can measure their own progress in efficiency instead of having their success indicated by the words of the teacher, or by the marks given?

7. Discuss ways of promoting (*a*) individual judgment; (*b*) respect for the opinions of others; (*c*) patriotism; (*d*) morals, without

producing mental conflicts in the minds of the persons taught.

8. How can the purpose of maintaining high standards in a high school be gained without injury to the mental health of pupils of various grades of ability and various vocational objectives?

9. Can college-entrance requirements be formulated in such a way that they will help high-school people to promote the mental health of most of their pupils?

10. Report facts that you think indicate that the school or schools observed by you were being administered in ways favorable to the mental health of most of its pupils.

11. Is it possible for the mental health of some pupils in a school to become poor, where most of the pupils are being kept in good mental health? Is it possible to promote the mental health of these few without disturbing the general plan of administration? How?

12. Discuss the hygienic advantages and disadvantages of (*a*) individual competition in school subjects and in athletics as usually conducted, (*b*) group competitions, and (*c*) non-competitive activities and projects, individual and group.

13. Would it be well for schools to make more of achievement standards similar to those of Boy and Girl Scouts? Why?

14. In Case 1 is there evidence of improved mental health? Is the change in the attitude of the teacher justified even though no improvement in school work ever results?

15. Would pupils such as the one in Case 2 gain by being placed with other lame children in a special gymnasium group? Why?

16. Is the school described in Case 3 one in which order is maintained by means of wise general rules efficiently administered, or one in which purposes of teachers and pupils control conduct? Would the announcement of a few good rules help make the school better: for example, all pupils must keep their desks in order? Why?

17. Study critically the management of the kindergarten described in Case 4 and indicate what modifications of this management you would make in a graded school: for example, fewer or more rules, practised or stated.

18. Is it ever wise to attach a specific punishment to a rule? Was the instance in Case 5 quite exceptional or an instance of the usual bad effects of treating all alike? Can a teacher be just if she does not treat all alike?

19. In view of instances like the one described in Case 6 is it or is it not ever wise to say in advance what must not be done?

20. What of value do you learn from Case 7? Is it wise to assume that unusual conduct always has a cause?

21. What does Case 8 prove as to what may or must happen as the result of drill exercises?

22. Have you known teachers to use any of the practices of the one in Case 9? Was she right in believing that the girl could be punished by invoking the public opinion of her classmates? How can that be done without injury to the person who is disapproved? Is there similar danger in invoking approval of classmates?

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CHAPTER XIV

DIAGNOSIS AND CORRECTION OF MALADJUSTMENTS

General methods. Until recently the treatment of mental disturbances has been guided, as was early medical practice, by previous experiences in dealing with individuals having similar disorders. Epidemics furnished enough similar cases to yield some general truths as to causes and treatment. The real causes, however, remained unknown until Pasteur demonstrated that they were due to germs. Many diseases were named and classified according to combinations of symptoms, but the classifications thus made have helped very little in making accurate scientific generalizations or in providing reliable rules of treatment. It was only after the facts of normal anatomy and physiology were made the basis of study that surgery and medicine began to have a scientific foundation. Diseases are now classified more according to organs primarily affected and the changes in normal functioning produced. Most of the advances, also, have been made not by mere observation, but by carefully arranged experimentation.

Psychiatry is a much younger art and science than medicine and has the added disadvantage of having to deal largely with subjective facts. The variations in mental disorders of individuals are also much greater than in physical diseases. Classification of mental disorders based on studies of abnormal individuals is the method which has been most used; but not many reliable generalizations or rules for treatment have been established.

The more promising line of investigation is the study of normal individuals, noting how variations in usual functioning in one or several ways leads to what is called mental disease. The

best psychological methods are now being used in making such studies. Case studies of minor variations from normal functioning, in which are traced all the facts associated with the development of the disorder and of return to normal, are likely to prove more enlightening than far more scientific studies of persons who are already insane. Certainly such facts examined in the light of established truths of physiology, of individual and social psychology, and of common sense, will serve as a basis for the establishment of reliable principles of mental hygiene, if not for the treatment of mental diseases.

To become more definitely and scientifically reliable, observations must be supplemented by controlled experiments. Some experiments will be described before discussing the less accurate, but useful, methods of observing, diagnosing, and treating cases of persons showing variations from normal functioning.

Objective studies of conflicts. An individual continues to live and maintain unity and consistency of personality because of continued harmony of functioning. For convenience we may think of the activities involved as (*a*) internal activities connected with breathing, digestion, growth, etc., (*b*) external movements that make conditions more or less favorable for the regular internal activities, and (*c*) conscious and voluntary activities that modify the other activities, chiefly in the way of adjusting the past, present, and future in such ways that the present self emerges in a future modified self without disturbing the personality life.

All life functioning tends to become regular and rhythmic. Sudden changes in the physical or mental environment to which one has become adjusted usually disturb functioning, but there is a tendency for the activities involved again to become harmonized and regular. When one or more organs or parts concerned in activities are injured, the organism is temporarily crippled, but other organs increase their activities so that nearly normal func-

tioning is continued: for example, health may be maintained when only a part of one lung or of one kidney remains. The greater the disturbance encountered, the longer it will be before regular functioning will be reestablished, and the greater the possibility that successful adjustments will never be made.

The physiological mechanisms involved in spontaneous and voluntary movements and in mental activities are very complex, and there are many chances for activities to interfere with each other. All voluntary acts involve temporary inhibitions and interferences. It is generally accepted that the cells in the cortex, or outside of the brain, are especially concerned in voluntary control; whereas centers in the lower parts of the brain and in the spinal cord are concerned more with the execution of automatic movements. *All of these* are subject to conditioning. As the power of voluntary motion is gained, the cells of the upper brain become more effective in inhibiting the action of the cells of the lower portions of the brain that are being stimulated through the special senses. As children grow older their movements become less irregular and diffuse. The same is true of any one practising something new.

The hand movements are very closely related to the thought processes, which are carried on by means of spoken, written, or imaged words. The lack of smooth functioning in the thought processes is shown by irregularities of all sorts. This makes possible objective studies of either temporary or chronic personality disorders by means of measured variations in the regularity of motions made while taking an association test. Alexander Luria has done this most effectively in studying the reactions of normal and of mentally diseased persons; also of persons accused of crimes, those who are fatigued, and of students about to take an examination. He also experimentally produced minor conflicts and disorders. He not only made the usual association tests but arranged so that the variations of pressures on bulbs (one

made voluntarily as regularly as possible with the right hand, and the other involuntarily with the left hand) should be recorded in the form of curves on a revolving drum.

Suspected criminals usually showed emotional excitement by irregular pressures. If there was increased irregularity with delayed and irrelevant responses when words suggesting objects and incidents associated with the crime were presented, guilt was inferred. The activity of responding with a spontaneously associated word was in conflict with a voluntary effort to conceal knowledge of the crime.

A number of criminals who confessed to having committed the crime charged against them were tested almost immediately afterward, their responses then being much more nearly normal than before the confession. This indicates that the voluntary activity of trying to inhibit the natural and habitual responses had decreased, leaving the person in a more normal condition. The uncomfortableness of such conflicts explains why so many criminals ultimately confess to some one, and are mentally relieved by so doing. For a similar reason, persons who are uncertain what course of action to take are relieved either by talking it over with some one, or by coming to a decision. This is also the reason why bringing into the light of day some suppression connected with a disturbing incident of early life is often a successful method of treating nervous disorders.

Using the same methods, Luria described a crime to persons while they were in the hypnotic state and tried to make them believe they had committed it; then he tested them in their normal state. None of them, when in their normal state, remembered the incident described, but all of them showed its influence by the kind of word responses they made in a free association test, and also in response to critical words.

Those who in the hypnotic state had accepted the suggestion that they had committed the crime (of stealing a pocketbook) showed variations in time when words suggestive of the crime

were given, and also in the curves made by right- and left-hand pressures. Those who had refused to accept the suggestion that they had stolen were regular in all their muscular and mental responses except in breathing, which probably indicated some emotion connected with the crime incident. If those who accepted the idea of having committed a crime were again hypnotized and told that no such crime had been committed by them, and again tested in the waking state, most of the signs of conflict were absent.

Purely mental conflicts excited by hypnotic suggestion may cause considerable personality disturbance. If it is suggested that the subject will think of all the different kinds of birds he knows, and on awakening he is given association tests, he has a tendency to respond by names of birds instead of by words that he would otherwise naturally give, and he is disturbed by the unconscious conflict of association activities. He does not know the cause, but is irritated or made nervous in much the same way as when one is trying to attend to one thing while receiving a stimulus that draws his attention in another direction.

Such unconscious conflicts are generally less easy to resolve, adjust to, or stop, than those consciously known. By bringing the unconscious causes of conflicts into the light of consciousness, it is frequently possible to obtain relief.

Persons who have frequently done certain things while consciously desiring to do the opposite are often subject to more or less continuous internal conflicts; whereas those who definitely choose which of various things they want to do are generally free from conflicts. The individual who adjusts to his bodily wants and who practises coördination and harmony of muscular adjustments is likely to be freer from unconscious conflicts than the one who ignores bodily needs, because the muscular activities of the former are harmonized with each other and unopposed by the vital processes.

Very direct and severe conflicts may be produced by suggest-

ing to a subject in the hypnotic state that when he takes an association test, he will want to say certain words, but will be unable to say them. This is similar to the way in which a person in authority sometimes says or does things that arouse resentment, but at the same time threatens his victim to make him refrain from crying or from doing whatever the previous stimuli impel him to do. Another person in authority, equally severe, may arouse little or no conflict because he gives a choice of punishments, and does not interfere with the natural ways of adjusting to the punishment chosen.

Activities are more diffuse in young children than in adults, and children cannot easily modify rhythms in responding. If they are asked to indicate their choice of one of several things, for example, colors, but not to do so until a signal is given, there are evidences of diffuseness of motor excitations during the period of inhibiting the pointing while waiting for the signal. With adults the restrictions of activities are complete, the hand to be used in pointing remaining quiet until the signal is given, then moving quickly and directly.

The reactions of healthy individuals are more regular than those of the mentally diseased. A normal person taking an association test, if asked to react more quickly or more slowly, or to make difficult or absurd responses instead of easy spontaneous ones, shows irregularity of pressure. Those who gave up trying to give any associated word showed little irregularity in their hand pressures. Those who tried until they succeeded were irregular in pressures in the early stages of their attempts. Subjects who were unsuccessful in adjusting continued to show very irregular pressures.

The reactions of dogs, as shown by Pavlov, are similar to those just described. After practice which made the sight of a circle a conditioned stimulus to salivary activity, he occasionally presented an ellipse before the circle, and in such trials did not give any meat afterwards, but continued to give the meat only

when the circle alone was used. The dog soon adjusted to inhibit the tendency to a conditioned response to the circle when the inhibiting stimulus of an ellipse preceded it. When, however, a form intermediate between the circle and the ellipse was shown to the dog, the difficulty of discrimination was too great, and there were marked and continued motor disturbances apparently due to the conflicting activities of trying to react and of inhibiting reaction. This is analogous to the condition of a person mentally perplexed or in emotional conflict. Rather serious disorders can be produced in dogs by repeated experiments of this kind. It seems, therefore, that there are three typical modes of meeting difficulties that are fundamental and closely associated with the amount and duration of disorders produced. The first type learns to ignore difficult situations and shows only slight temporary irregularities. The second type overcomes the difficulty, and the temporary irregularity disappears. The third type continues to be active in response to the situation, but largely in negative and ineffective ways, and this is the most prolific cause of mental disorders.

Discovering maladjustments. The mental hygienist in the home, in school, in industries, in special clinics, and the teacher who is seeking to promote mental health, depend upon observations supplemented by objective tests for evidences of conflicts and lack of effective mental functioning. Such observations may be directed to the answering of three questions: (1) In what ways, and how much, does the individual vary from the usual in functioning? (2) When he diverges, does he quickly return to normal functioning? (3) To what extent is he successful in his adjustments as indicated by (*a*) his own satisfactions, (*b*) approval of others, and (*c*) objective achievements?

The seriousness of any of the variations from the normal standards is to be judged partly by the degree of variation, and partly by indications of their tendency to increase or decrease. If progressively increasing, slight variations of functioning and

of unsuccess in adjusting are more serious than when the unusual behavior takes the form of a special habit.

In diagnosing cases of seeming ill health, it is not usually sufficient to classify according to one kind of disturbance, but to note all variations from the norms of healthy functioning indicated in Chapter XI, and to seek to discover whether these variations are likely partly to cancel each other, or are combining in such a way as to produce an increase of the disorders already shown. It is sometimes well to keep hands off until it is obvious that the trend is toward increasingly poor adjustments. Emphatic reproofs, warnings, and punishments for single acts impulsively or imitatively performed are usually injurious: for example, an oath uttered by a child who is in a generally good environment is not likely to lead to a habit of swearing, but a severe reproof may increase the impulse and prolong the conflict of inhibiting it.

Variations from what is usual or desirable that are likely to grow worse are often unnoticed; but others that are usually self-corrective are seen at once and treated as if they were serious. For example, shyness, if not delicately handled, is much more likely to result in personality disorders than aggressiveness. If nothing is intentionally done to change these attitudes, the aggressive individual, especially if surrounded by equals, is naturally reacted to in ways that decrease his aggressive acts; whereas the shy individual is more likely to withdraw from companionship and responsibilities, and to live in an unreal world of his own in which his variations from the normal are more likely to increase than to decrease. If shy persons are gifted and essentially normal, they may remain healthy and make original and valuable contributions to society; but if not well endowed, they may become less and less effective members of society as they withdraw into an inner world of imaginary successes and pleasures.

Parents, teachers, and others in authority are likely to be dis-

turbed by the aggressive individual who boldly disobeys and violates rules and conventions or secretly evades them, rather than by the withdrawing type of individual who gives no trouble; but, as previously stated, the mental hygienist will deem it wise to give the most careful attention to the latter, even though his deviations from the normal are so much less evident and troublesome. Sullenness, long continued, indicates a much more serious internal state than shyness, and deceit is more serious than disorderly conduct.

Classification of personalities according to type is only moderately useful since most persons show a mixture of several types. Discovery of dominant characteristics, such as the following, are sometimes helpful: shyness, aggressiveness, impulsiveness, stubbornness, uncertainty, overconfidence. It is not always easy to determine what characteristics are dominant. Sometimes seemingly aggressive behavior (like the barking of a dog) is a way of concealing lack of confidence in ability to meet situations, instead of fearless readiness to attempt almost anything. The seemingly shy individual, also, may be really confident, but more concerned with attaining his own ends than with attracting attention to himself.

In studying the facts and the *type* of adjustments, it is well to note whether the lack of satisfactory adjustment is manifested chiefly (1) in relation to environment, physical or social, or (2) in the form of dissatisfaction, conflict, and inconsistencies within the individual. Either condition may exist for a considerable time without the other becoming permanent, but sooner or later one is likely to lead to the other.

Conflict within the individual is a more serious handicap to his personality development than conflict with society. Only strong individuals who do not have internal conflicts can continue to defy laws and conventions. Society suffers more from the criminality, dependency, and especially from the inefficiency and unreliability, of persons who are at war with themselves,

than from the attacks of the few well coördinated, antisocial individuals.

When an individual is in conflict with authority and the social order, it is important not only to protect society against him (and society is usually strong enough to do this) but to get him to coöperate with society. Forcible restraint of a recalcitrant individual is sometimes necessary to the safety and comfort of others; but positive gains are made only when he is induced to become coöperative. Also there is great loss in "making children behave" instead of making conditions favorable for them to adjust and coöperate until they *want* to behave, and are in harmony with their environment and free from internal conflicts.

Searching for causes of maladjustments. It is always wise to study carefully not only the nature of maladjustments and their trends, but to seek for their immediate and remote causes. Observations, tests, and measurements of the individual and of his surroundings are likely to give facts, some of which will prove to be of significance. As previously noted, individuals who in themselves or in their environment are very unusual in any way are more subject to maladjustments than usual individuals in the average environment; hence unusual individual traits and unusual environment, and the way in which they are combined, should be noted. Guesses or theories as to probable causes of maladjustments may then be made from the data collected, but before these are accepted as the real causes, the actual reactions of the individual in situations where successful adjustment would appear to be most difficult, or most easy for him, should be observed.

The history of the individual should also be studied to determine whether present behavior probably grew directly or indirectly out of (*a*) the individual adjustments of endowment to the regular environment, (*b*) special incidents, (*c*) processes of maturing, or (*d*) some combination of these factors.

Experiments may sometimes be made that will confirm or con-

tradict the first theory of the source of maladjustments. The objective situation may be changed, or an attempt may be made to change the attitude of the individual by suggestions. In this way, early judgment as to probable causes may be verified or corrected. Care should be taken not to overestimate one discovered cause, without investigating others and noting their relationships to each other. It should be remembered, also, that removing an original cause will not at once decrease the condition it has originated.

Treatment of maladjustments. The first attempts to cure maladjustments are to a considerable extent identified with experiments to determine causes.

Changing environment is usually a safe general method. Complete change of environment may be advised when, for causes unknown, maladjustments are evident and increasing. It is similar to the prescription often given to a patient by the physician, "Try a change of climate." This prescription is most likely to be successful if the new environment is chosen, not merely because it is a wholesome one, but because it is well adapted to call forth normal reactions from this particular individual.

Sometimes a change of special features in the environment is sufficient to bring about desired changes in behavior. Perhaps a different environment during a portion of the day, as when a child goes to school or joins some organization, may be all that is necessary to produce better adjustments to all life's situations. A change of companions, or of the degree of competition or responsibility, may also bring about improved adjustments.

If maladjustments disappear, continue the new environment until good adjustments are established, and then take care that, if the old environment is resumed, the conditions responsible for the maladjustments are not completely reproduced. A child who has bad eating habits at home may make good adjustments after a few days in a nursery school, but these are not likely to continue unless the home supervision also is changed. Even youths

of college age sometimes resume old habits on their return home after a year's absence.

The very great advantage of changes in environment is that they can be varied or reversed in many instances without serious danger of increasing the maladjustments that one is seeking to correct. Other maladjustments may occur, but still further changes in environment may be made with little danger of increasing the kind of maladjustments that formerly existed.

There are, however, some very important exceptions to this general truth. A child who has not enough desire to reach ends to induce him to make the necessary effort, should not have his environment changed again and again merely to save him the effort of making adjustments. A change to an environment or task where he cares to make the necessary effort is what is needed. Again, a person who is overactive should not be placed where the stimulus to overactivity is greater and greater, as is not infrequently done with gifted and ambitious persons in schools, churches, and other organizations. Similarly, less ambitious persons should be given the stimulus of added responsibility. To be healthful, the changes in the environment should present situations which induce the individual to act more normally.

Treating maladjustments by *attempts to change the individual* is usually the first method tried. When there is a physical handicap or disorder that can be corrected by surgery or medical treatment, such action should be taken at once. After such physical disorders have been removed, it is frequently necessary to take measures to develop habits and attitudes corrective of those which have been produced by the physical causes. The same truth applies to the removal of social handicaps over which the individual himself has no control.

Sometimes an individual physical trait—red hair, unusual size, birthmark, etc., which is not in itself a handicap and is not removable—is a source of mental irritation that can be cured only

by a change in the attitude of the person toward his peculiarity.

Physical and mental handicaps such as deficiencies in skill and knowledge may often be overcome by persistent effort, or compensated for by developing other powers. Frequently, however, there is overcompensation. Sometimes a mental sore spot remains—for example, the man who has life-long regrets for his lack of anything but an elementary-school education, although his intellectual attainments are far beyond those of the usual holder of degrees; or the charming companion who cannot forget his one-time crudeness of dress, manners, and speech; the self-made man who worships his creator and antagonizes his companions; the dignified personage who retains pictures of a boyhood when he was the butt of his companions. Any maladjustment that has become an integrated part of one's personality at one stage of development without being corrected then is often a source of imperfect adjustments later, even though he finally achieves noteworthy success. On the contrary, recovery from failures before accepting them as a part of one's life may give life-long satisfaction in recalling the achievement.

When an individual without any marked endowment handicap or peculiarity becomes maladjusted in what is regarded as a favorable environment, it is more common to blame the individual and to suggest that he, rather than his environment, be changed. This view should not be accepted, however, until after several changes in environment have been tried. A constitutionally psychopathic individual *will* show poor adjustment whatever his environment, but probably such persons are not numerous. A very great number of normally endowed persons acquire maladjustments by getting a wrong start due to some special combination of reactions and environment, and these failures are sometimes emphasized and confirmed by bungling attempts on the part of others to correct them.

It is natural to learn by trial and errors, helped by insight and imitation. When the environment remains constant, some

sort of adjustment will be made to it by every person. The attempts of some one else to direct changes in the individual, even when active resentment is not aroused, often requires a degree of submission that is not favorable to personality development. Even when it is well done, the process is more in the nature of cutting out, of injecting, or of grafting, than of stimulating favorable reactions. Sometimes it works well, like grafting one kind of apple on another; and sometimes it works ill, like grafting an apple bud on a peach tree, or still worse, on an oak. When the treatment is repressive, which is analogous to pruning, new sprouts often appear that are more objectionable than the ones removed. One devil is cast out, and seven enter in and take possession.

If there is something lacking in the environment, there may be spontaneous growth toward what is needed, spoiling the symmetry of the individual, just as the limbs of a tree grow toward the light which comes from only one direction. Trimming such undesirable growths does not permanently restore the true form. Just as the branches of a tree reach out for the sunshine and its roots for moisture, taking in and assimilating only suitable nutritive elements, so the nature of an individual, as indicated by his interests, causes him to seek and to assimilate what are to him the most satisfying experiences his environment affords. Reckless conduct or dissipations are not usually cured by merely trying to reform the person, but by making the environment favorable for the development of healthful activities and interests.

A change of environment, actual, imagined, or through direction of attention, gives a chance for the discovery of satisfactions preferable to those formerly gained. Whenever interests are thus changed and one begins acting in accordance with the new ones, the objectionable forms of behavior are likely to cease. Excessive preoccupation with sex has often been eliminated by such positive means, after the most vigorous repressive measures have

failed. Such changes in an individual are often caused by association with persons manifesting special interests, or with books that redirect the attention. After definite interests have been aroused, suggestions as to means are likely to be welcomed and to prove helpful. The first essential is to lead the individual to prefer other ends and activities to those previously prominent.

Maladjustments are often produced or cured unconsciously. Only after the change has become very marked will the individual realize it. Most reformers, however, ignore this truth when trying to change undesirable types of adjustments by changing the individual or the social order. They, as well as most teachers, direct attention to the undesirable reaction which they want stopped. Even when the individual agrees and coöperates, this procedure often emphasizes and makes prominent ideas that must then be suppressed by vigorous and consistent exercise of the will, instead of naturally dropping into the background as other interests develop.

Vigorous, consistent, and watchful direction of behavior may do away with undesirable attitudes or habits and establish opposite ones; but weakness or uncertainty of control or lack of tact often stimulate development of the very traits that the one in authority is trying to eliminate. To make the individual more acutely conscious of his defects and sins may occasionally induce improvement, but usually adds to his difficulties and deficiencies. It is much safer and wiser to give the individual positive incentives and facilities for developing desirable characteristics.

When an individual is *already* acutely conscious of a conflict between what he does and what he wants to do, it is sometimes well to intensify the conscious states favoring a wise action and then stimulate prompt and persistent effort in developing the desired habits. Consciousness of what is to be done should always be emphasized rather than consciousness of what is to be avoided. If an unskilled bicycle rider becomes acutely conscious of a stone he does not want to hit, he is sure to run into it. If,

on the other hand, he keeps his attention on the exact course to be followed, there is no divergence from it. To be made to think just what *not to do* at the moment of action nearly always has the opposite of the effect intended. Ideas of what not to do can be helpful only when they lead to positive ideas of means to be used at the time of acting.

This holds not only in manual adjustments but in the development of interests and attitudes. The appeal to fight the wrongdoing of others or the bad impulses of self is, in a large proportion of cases, no more sensible than to fight the pangs of hunger or perpetually to fight an epidemic disease while doing nothing to remove the cause. If food cannot be supplied, the pangs of hunger should be forgotten while one occupies himself in some interesting task. Positive efforts to remove *causes* of diseases, crimes, and other social disorders are the only permanently effective means of social advance. Wars in the consciousness of individuals are worse for mental hygiene than manual fighting by individuals and nations is for the physical welfare of peoples.

Special maladjustments and their treatment. *Fears.* A woman reports that any sort of bird flying over her, or even the shadow of an object passing over head, frightens her and causes her to run for shelter. This is probably a conditioned fear, but so far she has been unable to recall the special incident that produced it. This conditioned response is in the nature of a special habit not likely to be extended and to prove dangerous to mental health, but it is of sufficient inconvenience to be worth some effort to correct it. The reaction is so sudden that will power is ineffective. It could probably be corrected by the help of a companion who would cause the shadow of objects to pass over her, at first after a preliminary signal, then later with a general warning to be on guard. This should be followed by going where birds are likely to fly over and trying to identify the bird from its shadow, or by trying to see birds before their shadows appear. Such special practice with some sort of positive

reaction to take the place of the fear reactions would probably soon cure this fear.

Even the most vigorous, courageous, and even adventurous personalities may have special fears which they have found difficult or impossible to overcome. Experience in special situations, or associated with animals, high places, dark places, thunder-storms, etc., often produces such special fears that endure in spite of efforts to overcome them.

If a fear has been consciously developed, it may often be removed consciously, but if it produces an organic shock or muscular reaction, teaching is likely to have little effect on the response when the conditioned situation recurs. Case 1 at the end of the chapter is a good example. If the girl had made herself ride horses immediately after the accident, confidence could probably have been restored. Even after the fear attitude became fixed, the attempt to develop a positive interest in the care, understanding, and training of horses might have decreased the fear reactions, and reestablished the former pleasure in horseback riding.

In Case 2, the fear evidently developed by conscious representations rather than as the result of a nervous shock, and hence it could be largely dissipated by more accurate knowledge. The dislike might be removed by developing interest in the beauties of lightning through association with one who appreciated them.

When one has actually been shocked in a thunder-storm, there is probably little possibility of preventing fear reactions to storms, however much one may gain the *intellectual* assurance that there is little danger, or however much he appreciates the beauty of lightning.

A combination of conscious fear with a shock as in Case 3 is very difficult to overcome. The chances of cure of this boy would probably have been greater if he had been led to make many successful contacts with water, without thought of swimming until he could easily retrieve objects on or under the water,

followed by attempts to retrieve moving objects until he found himself actually doing spontaneously some sort of swimming. After further practice to give confidence, it might be well to recondition him further by having him mentally reproduce the shock stimulus with the reaction of successful swimming mentally carried out. If the shock had been less severe, a cure might have been effected earlier by reconstructing the incident mentally, then practising the appropriate motions; but probably this was not possible in this case.

In Case 4, fear was developed by teaching and by the practice of caution until it became a habit, and as a consequence the child was given a mental handicap far more serious than any physical injury she would probably have received by falling down stairs. Many people are thus handicapped for life by fears inculcated by parents. In this case cure might have been effected, but only by persistent conscious effort to offset what was developed by the same means. The lady would need to practise consciously going down stairs with facility, then to attempt more difficult ones as she gained confidence, and finally, to make the act automatic by doing it while consciously occupied with something else.

In Case 5 empty space became a stimulus to fear reactions, and so was effective in all high places. The best ameliorative of such fear is to look intently at definite objects in space.

In Case 6 darkness and inability to see in the rear is the partly natural and partly conditioned fear stimulus. The cure was effected by intelligent, effortful will and by a sense of humor.

In Case 7 a special fear continued for a dozen years but was finally outgrown. Perhaps it could have been eliminated earlier, but any bungling in the attempt to do so would probably have started serious conflicts and perhaps an inferiority complex.

In Case 8 the conditioned stimulus that excites fear is the sudden touch of a furry object on the head. This has been further conditioned so that the sight of a cat produces the idea of it

as likely to give such a touch sensation. To inhibit this conditioning it is not enough to try to be friendly toward cats, but it would probably help if she herself brought a cat (a passive one) to her face and kept it there for some time until the touch of its fur was agreeable. This should be repeated many times until she did not shrink when it was brought or moved more quickly toward her face.

Another method would be to reconstruct the original incident with the modification that she saw what the sister was doing and planned to fool her by dodging so that the cat did not touch her, or that she caught it in her hands and tossed it back, to the surprise of the sister.

Worries are fears aroused and fostered by the imagination. These images are stimulated by a general feeling of insecurity or by lack of confidence in one's own ability to meet situations that are coming, or that might come.

Usually worry about actual situations to come may be decreased or dissipated by (1) preparing for them in a way which will almost insure success in meeting them, and by (2) assuring one's self that the worst possible results, if they come, *can be endured*. After that the attention should be turned to picturing desirable outcomes to be hoped for instead of the undesirable ones that can be endured if the worst happens. The essential element is to recognize the realities and prepare to meet them in the best possible way known to self, and to accept the results whatever they may be. Sometimes much practice in meeting situations successfully is necessary before an habitual type of worry can be made to disappear: for example, fear of failure when speaking in public. It is much easier to avoid becoming afraid if one is interestedly occupied while waiting for the "zero hour."

The sources of insecurity must be discovered and connected before it is of any use to say, "Don't worry" or "Stop worrying." The individual cannot, or sometimes does not want to stop. Not infrequently, when there is actual or possible danger to a loved

one, the person feeling the uncertainty and danger also feels the responsibility for averting it. He must do something to convince himself and others that he is concerned, and he does this by worrying. He is determined to worry and may even regard it as a duty to do so. To be comfortable while a loved one may be in danger seems to show absence of love, and so one must worry. Others perhaps worry as an easy substitute for the effort of finding and using the necessary means of giving relief. The worrier often must be induced to take an objective view of himself, revealing the fact that he is not facing realities, or even the more probable of possible futures. It will help if things can be done in preparation for various contingencies instead of just picturing terrible possibilities. The woman in Case 9 has reached such a stage that cure probably is impossible unless some underlying cause of unhappiness is removed and her emotional and imaginative life established on a new basis. This is the kind of case that might be helped by psychoanalysis. Case 10 is probably an instance of an acquired habit that earlier in life might have been corrected without a reconstruction of the emotional life.

Compulsions and obsessions are usually related to fears. They range from almost automatic performance of useless acts, with perhaps a vague feeling that something will happen if the act is not performed, to obsessions that threaten sanity. In Case 11 one form of compulsion disappeared, but others of a more mental nature took their place. Sometimes such acts as this person performed are a source of pleasure and amusement and hence not unhealthful for self, though sometimes annoying to others. When one feels *compelled* to perform them and is annoyed by them, they excite conflicts, prevent freedom of personal control, and are unhealthful.

Less compulsive but difficult to prevent are habits such as *thumb-sucking, nail-biting, frowning*, etc. These occur unconsciously before they can be consciously prevented. Thumb-sucking and nail-biting often grow out of some want or inade-

quacy. Children weaned early are more given to thumb-sucking than those who are weaned late. Older children often take it up as a substitute for a doll or other object to hold as they go to sleep, or at other times in the absence of something to do. Nail-biting is often associated with lack of occupation and a state of embarrassment or perplexity. The conditions, both internal and external, under which either habit shows itself should be carefully studied and some other satisfying occupation found, preferably without doing anything to draw special attention to the act itself.

Adults who wish to break habits of this kind should avoid the state that serves as a conditioned stimulus to the habit (fatigue, nervousness, anxiety, etc.) and should be prepared to engage in some other activity when the habit is likely to appear. A less objectionable habit such as fingering a button, twiddling the thumbs, or scribbling, is sometimes easily and wisely substituted. Several such changes may help to do away with the necessity for any of them.

One of the most serious forms of obsession is an avoidance of things and people because of fear of germs or of contamination. In Case 12 we have an extreme example of the hampering effects of such an obsession that threatens the sanity of a very capable person. This is a case in which the individual must save herself by "will power." To regain mental health she must resist any further addition to things avoided, and gradually regain one piece of lost territory after another. A sense of humor, if it could be stimulated, would help. Any one who observes the beginning of such an obsession should prevent its growth by positive activities that ignore or oppose it.

In this case a cure might be effected by mentally reconstructing the original incident and being assured by reason or by the opinion of a friend or religious adviser that there was never any serious danger to personality, physical, moral, or esthetic, after she had performed the distasteful task.

In Case 13 an incident of early life that had never been adjusted to the rest of conduct and thought was recalled. The act was so out of harmony with the man's present reputation and standards that his social and moral prestige seemed to be unsafe. With no way of repairing the loss inflicted, and not being able to dismiss the matter from his mind or to see its humorous or trivial character, he brooded over it, and was disturbed by every reference to the object stolen. This illustrates how disturbing an unintegrated experience may become, especially in persons who are narrowly and consistently conscientious.

Case 14 is a good example of a non-adjustive irritable reaction repeatedly made, in this case without another actual stimulus to call it forth. Such behavior, even if it does not grow worse, is very unsatisfactory to self and others, but once well established is very difficult to change.

Jealousy is frequently directly or indirectly a source of a variety of maladjustive manifestations. It is often unsuspected even by the jealous individual himself. It is very likely to exist whenever one's social standing or his personal relations with some loved one is involved and a feeling of insecurity aroused. It may be shown in aggressive individuals by misconduct, and in shy persons by withdrawal actions, broodings, and by signs of feeling inferior. Case 15 is a good illustration of the discovery and cure of a case of jealousy.

CASE 1.—As a child I was extremely fond of horses. I had owned several; in fact, up until I was ten years of age, I had always owned a pet horse. I rode them bareback, and with a saddle. Shortly after I became ten years old I had a particularly unruly horse which I loved to ride bareback. While "stunting" one time, I was thrown from this animal and severely hurt. From that time on I have had a keen fear of horses. It wasn't a condition that developed or grew—but a sudden horror of which I was very conscious. My father tried to retrieve my confidence and love of horses by trying to keep me in touch with our horses, unharnessing them, giving them sugar, etc. I did those things automatically with this terrible fear always

present. To this day if I am crossing a street I would wait for a horse to pass far sooner than a heavy truck. Three years ago in the winter time I was in Montreal and happened to be window-shopping. I happened to look over my shoulder and saw two huge draft horses within a foot of me. They were plowing the sidewalks. I was not conscious of being afraid but dropped in my tracks. I came to very quickly but was thoroughly frightened. I have conscientiously tried to overcome this fear, but I cannot seem to do so. Even a racing movie I do not enjoy. What is the cure for such a conditioning?

CASE 2.—As a boy I had a great dread of thunder-storms. It was so intense that I constantly watched the sky on hot summer days for thunder-heads. I hated the approach of summer, for it meant hot weather with the thunder-storms which nearly always followed. During storms I was careful to avoid all drafts, chimneys, wires, and all sorts of conductors, both real and imaginary.

When older, pride prevented me from showing any fear. I think being with others that didn't seem afraid helped me. However it was an article in the *American Magazine* that helped me most. The author demonstrated by statistics how liable a person was of being struck. The chances were so small that it seemed almost ridiculous to fear lightning when your chance of injury or death from other sources less fearsome were considerably greater.

I am cured. I have no worry of thunder-storms, only a normal dislike of lightning.

CASE 3.—When F—— was a boy of seven or eight he was taken to the lake by a neighbor with whose children he played. This man believed that the way to make a boy swim was to throw him into the water, and he would be forced to swim to save himself.

F—— was very pale and trembling with fright when he returned home. From that time he has had a strong dislike for the water.

When he was twelve F—— was sent to camp. His parents hoped he would learn to like the water and learn to swim with the other boys. The camp director was interested in him and gave him special help on swimming, but although he became a good camper and attended three full seasons, he did not learn to swim to any extent. The camp directors finally decided that it would spoil camp life for the boy if they insisted upon it and gave up trying.

Last year the boy entered Dartmouth where there is a swimming requirement. His mother was advised to let him try it, as it was

possible that he might have outgrown his fears. He had a very sad time of it, lost flesh, was ill, and finally took overcuts. He is having special instruction with the head of the department this semester and has been assured that if he cannot swim at the end of this term he will be excused.

CASE 4.—When I was a child, we lived in the upper apartment of a two-family house. There was a very steep back flight of stairs. At the top of this flight there was a gate which we always kept hooked. In the first place, it would have been dangerous for grown people especially after dark, but particularly was it dangerous for my younger brother. My mother was continually warning us concerning the danger of those back stairs. The gate must be kept closed, and, when we used the back stairs, we must hold on to the railing and descend slowly. We were constantly reminded of the fact that Grace, the young girl in the lower apartment, had fallen down those stairs and cut her chin, so that she always carried a scar there.

My mother so thoroughly did her duty concerning those stairs that to this very day I never descend a flight of stairs without first recalling the fact that I must be careful and hold on to the railing. Consequently, if a flight of stairs has no railing, it is practically impossible for me to get down them. I always have a feeling of insecurity on a flight of stairs.

The most terrible experience I can recall on a flight of stairs has stuck in my memory. A few years ago I attended the Northfield Seminary, and one day we visited Mount Hermon for boys. We were shown over the campus and taken up to the tower of the church. I was able to get up, but when we came to come down—I can never forget. The stairs had been constructed without any backing to the treads and were curved in spiral fashion. When I looked down, I nearly fainted from fright, and it took the combined efforts of my friends to get me safely to the ground.

CASE 5.—When I was a small child of four or five years of age, my brother (two years my senior) and I were always together. As there were no other children of my own age who lived near us I often played with the playmates of my brother though they were older than I. Naturally, I soon played their games, etc. Until I was seven years old I continued to run, play, jump, and climb with them. Then during the summer of my seventh year I started to walk down stairs, lost my balance, fell the length of the entire flight, and broke

my arms. It has been utterly impossible for me to climb to any height above the ground since then without experiencing that terrible sensation of insecurity. I never start to go down stairs without the dread of pitching headlong again. Unless the planking of a bridge is so close together that I can't see the gorge below, it is impossible for me to cross.

Only last summer while berrying we came to a trestle about twenty feet above a stream. I attempted to cross when that terrible sensation came over me, and I absolutely could not cross. So it was my lot to walk away out around the woods till I came to a bridge over which I could walk.

I have tried to overcome this fear, but all my attempts seem to have been in vain. I would do most anything to overcome the feeling, but the fear is as prominent as the day I fell, so long ago.

CASE 6.—When I was a little girl, I was afraid to go upstairs in the dark and a member of the family always went with me. As I grew older, I would go upstairs if other members of the family were in the house. In the dark I had a fear that some one or something would come up behind me and grab me. I was never left in the house alone or never entered the house alone after dark until I was a young woman.

One evening the family were all away from home, and I was the first to return. The house was dark and I was afraid to enter. Finally I decided to enter. I turned on the lights down stairs; after awhile I went upstairs and turned on all the lights. Then I went downstairs and turned off the lights and went upstairs backwards keeping my back close to the wall. The next morning the humorous side of it appealed to me, and I related my experience to the family and the laugh at my expense helped to cure me of the fear. Yet even now when I pass through a dark room and hear a noise, I have an almost uncontrollable desire to stand with my back against the wall.

CASE 7.—I have a nephew who was afraid to go upstairs alone even in the day time, but we could see that he did not want us to know he was afraid. He was not a shy child but, in most situations, brave and capable. He kept his fear to himself, but his mother noticed that if he wanted some of his toys he would ask one of the older ones to go upstairs with him and, if they did not go, he would not let on but watch until some one did go up and then would go, too, and make haste to collect his toys and get back down before the others.

His mother told others of the family never to tease him for being afraid and to go upstairs when he asked them to.

He is now seventeen years old and has what seems a very bright future ahead of him with all the fear of going upstairs gone.

CASE 8.—Even though I did not remember this incident, my mother told me of it years later.

As mere children my sister and I were playing on a little hill together. At this particular moment I was sitting on the grass, while she was standing a little above me on the hill.

Suddenly some soft, furry, heavy thing landed on my head and face. It was some time before my mother could quiet her hysterical child and get a connected story from my shame-faced sister giving the details of the "cat-throwing."

Ever since I have had a horror of cats. There is that feeling that every cat will jump in my face.

Just recently I visited at a farm house where the father has a large black cat of which he is very proud. This cat had the habit of jumping on his master's shoulder while he was seated at the table.

It was my misfortune to be in the master's chair when without any warning this huge black cat landed on my shoulder. I jumped and screamed, almost putting my shoulder out of joint, for the horrid thing stuck like a burr.

I have tried to be friendly to cats, but find myself unconsciously shielding my face.

CASE 9.—Gertrude and her husband own a very comfortable home, and they let rooms so that the weekly income from rooms is sufficient to support the family.

Every modern convenience has been provided Gertrude. Her husband is very considerate and thoughtful of his wife, having no outside activities to keep him from home. If Gertrude wants a new coat, or a new vacuum cleaner, she has it, but she is very unhappy.

Were one to visit her, one would hear remarks to this effect:

"Yes, it is a beautiful day, but what good is it if one has so much to do—so many beds to make, and so many rooms to clean that one has no time to go out-of-doors?"

"I've spent the whole morning washing, dusting, and cleaning."

"I cannot go to church Sunday morning, as much as I want to, for I have so much work to do."

"I'd like to belong to church, but it requires so much time for church suppers, etc., which I could not give, that I won't join."

"Yes, of course she is good-natured, but what has she to make her otherwise? If she lived in my shoes, she would not be any different than I am."

To summarize: she worries for fear that:

1. Her husband may some day do as his father did—elope with another woman—even though he is not interested in anybody but his wife.

2. Her roomers will not pay for their rooms through the summer months when they are away and she will be unable to meet bills.

3. Her mother-in-law will come to live with her.

4. Her husband will love his mother more than his wife.

5. People won't sympathize with her.

A neighbor introduced her to church. She read much; she found help and inspiration in her readings. She seemed to be a new person, and one enjoyed her company. She did not attend church much because she thought that she could not, but the readings, plus the interest of her neighbor, plus that of a practitioner introduced by the neighbor, were sufficient.

Finally, she found time to go to church. She was not welcomed. No attention was given her there—none was given anybody. She became very unhappy and believed that the members were too "high-hat." In the meantime her children attended the Sunday school, and they were very happy there.

Gertrude decided that if the ladies would not make her feel at home, they would not have her children in their Sunday school, and she placed them first in one church and then in another.

Now she attends another church once in a while, while her children are back in the other Sunday school. She herself returned to that church to "try again"; and again, because no attention was given her personally, left. She is still very unhappy; she is still worrying about cancer, poverty, God, husband, etc.

Her father and mother were hard-working common people. Her father was a disagreeable sort of person—severe, "bossy," and cruel at times. Her mother was a very, very sensitive person. Her mother had been a devoted member of the ——— church before her marriage. Her father belonged to no church. The mother had spent a life of fear and of worry, fear of God and husband, and worry because

she had left her church. There had been a religious war in the family as to what church Gertrude should attend. Gertrude had joined another than her mother's church as a child, which made the mother very unhappy. Her home life, then, had always been one of tears. She had gone to high school, but her mother was unable to save enough money for Gertrude to continue her education. She then worked in her father's store where she spent six very unhappy years. At the end of that period, her father failed in business. Gertrude then entered a hospital training-school where she spent three years. A year after her graduation she married a man whom she had known back in early childhood, but had not seen for fifteen years. She did not love him when she married him but thinks that she does now.

It seems as though her present mental state must be a result of her early training. Her home life, from the very beginning, was one of conflicts. Because of the dispositions of her father and mother, and because of the conflicts which they forced upon her during her formative years, with no solutions to them, she formed the habit and the disposition to worry and to fear, as they did, and as they had forced her to when she was young.

She has not had sufficient education to help to understand the cause of her conflict. Her religious education has not been sufficient to satisfy her conflicts and to help solve them, so she finds no particular comfort in the church. She will not listen to the advice and the suggestions of friends or acquaintances.

She needs to reëducate her emotions, it is true, but how would you suggest that she be made to do this?

CASE 10.—My friend traces her worrying to her mother. She tells a story of her mother's laying out clothes for her father's burial when he was late in returning home one night. So she was brought up in an atmosphere of worry.

As a child, when her parents had gone away, she would gather her two sisters and four brothers into a room and have them say the Lord's Prayer or repeat, "The Lord is good and his mercy endureth forever." Then she would rush out and lie down with her ear close to the ground, listening for the sound of horses' hooves.

Married at the age of twenty-two, she transferred her worry to her husband. Later, a son claimed his share of her imaginary fears. I have seen her walk the floor, trembling, agitated over the thought that he would be brought home dead.

When her first son was eighteen, another son was born. She then proceeded to worry over him, for with her first son's marriage her worries over him very nearly ceased.

She is now sixty-five years of age and most of her worry concentrates on the younger son, now twenty-four. He is thin—she thinks he shows signs of tuberculosis. He is at college—she fears he will study too much and have a breakdown, *et cetera ad infinitum*. When he is at home, he is forever being urged to see a doctor, for she knows he is not well.

Her husband and sons laugh at her fears. Once when I was visiting her she said to me, "I know I act foolishly by worrying over things, but I just can't help it."

CASE 11.—When quite young I was expected to bring my own chair from an adjoining room and place it at the table before each meal. However, before doing so I felt forced to go through a certain childish ceremony. I can see myself now leaning over the chair, both hands firmly planted on its arms while I counted to myself in a low whisper, nine for my own age, seven for that of my sister, fifteen for that of another, and so on through the ages of the various members of my family.

This compulsion endured for some time. The cause of it I have never been able to determine, nor have I any recollection of when it left me.

To this day, I find myself doing such absurd things as counting one, two, three, four, when I walk; repeating a line of poetry, or humming a phrase of music with painstaking effort in order to get the accented beat on the right or left foot as the case may be; fitting words to the tick of the clock, or the stroke of the comb as I arrange my hair.

CASE 12.—[Reported by a student as the confession of a friend.] I was called upon to perform a task which was particularly distasteful, even revolting, to me. In discharging the task, I made use of a small amount of olive oil. While placing the remaining oil upon a near-by window sill, I inadvertently spilled it. My first fear manifested itself in the horror I had of approaching the particular corner of the room in which the window was located. Not only did I fear contact with the window sill itself, but the curtains hanging about it, the casings surrounding it, the floor underneath it, and even the

roof of the porch outside. I always entered that particular room with unreasonable dread.

The fears soon began to multiply; some one introduced to us a new brand of oil dressing, one bearing as a trademark the figure of an Indian maid. Nothing could persuade me to eat of this oil, or of the delicious salads containing it. I even refused to handle the cans in which it came. Later, I found I could read no paper or magazine without first looking them through carefully, and removing without contact of fingers or clothing, all pictures of the detested Indian maid. And still the horror grew! Later I included in my fears all illustrations of Indians, particularly squaws, for they bear closer resemblance to the Indian girl. More subtle still is this form of torture. To pronounce such words as Indians, squaw, chief, papoose, wigwam, etc. is to bring an avalanche of terror upon me.

I wear no ornaments about my neck, and for this reason: upon opening my jewel case one evening, the thought came to me that this valued possession might be the receptacle into which I had poured the fatal oil years ago. Common sense told me otherwise, yet the fear persisted and soon included all necklaces, all jewel cases, and articles in the least resembling jewel cases.

And it has recently taken another form of torture—quite exquisite in its subtlety. The sudden appearance of disliked persons, or even the sound of their voices, contaminates for me any entirely new or valued article I may have with me at the time of seeing or hearing them. To be more specific. Seated at my desk one day, I heard the raucous tones of the most despised boy in the neighborhood. The sound reached my ears at the instant that I slammed tight the top drawer of my desk. A fear of using the desk and all its contents descended upon me. The "Indian Princess" had again made her appearance, and smeared with oil another of my valued possessions!

Carrying for the first time a leather bag I had recently purchased, I entered the house. To my consternation, I heard in a distant room the voices of two very much unloved neighbors. I hastened to my room to avoid meeting them, and laid upon a convenient sofa pillow the new treasure. Since that day I have used neither bag nor pillow. I feel they are both saturated with oil.

To-day finds this woman surrounded by a host of contaminated articles. Her life is spent in keeping free from taint the few articles she must use, or wear, or eat. It is a gigantic task. I wonder that

she does not break under it. Yet all these years she has held a prominent public position, and she has achieved a notable success in discharging the duties of that position, but with what an expenditure of energy! I often wonder what she might accomplish if she could throw off the shackles of her fears!

CASE 13.—Mr. J——, when a small boy, together with two of his companions, raided a watermelon patch and stole three of the best melons. The act, like many a boyish prank, was apparently forgotten until something reminded Mr. J—— of it many years afterward. As I am not well acquainted with Mr. J——, I have not been able to ascertain what brought this act to mind, or what mental condition he was in at the time, but it proved a most disturbing thought and gained proportions in his imagination until it seemed to him that he had committed a serious crime, and would be publicly disgraced because of it.

He was unable to find where the family lived from whom he had stolen the watermelons, so that he was not able to make restitution. Every time he found the word "melon" in the paper, he felt that the article was aimed at him, and he was filled with great fear. Even a recipe for watermelon pickle, an advertisement of some fruit store selling melons at the rate of two for twenty-five cents, or articles on melancholy upset him to such an extent that his wife feared insanity. The climax came when Andrew Mellon was made Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. J—— felt convinced that the government was after him, and that Mr. Mellon had been placed in that position to ferret out his crime. There was now no possible way for him to escape.

With this new turn of affairs Mr. J——'s relatives took him to a mental scientist who analyzed his case and began a series of treatments. These treatments proved to be effective and eventually the watermelon obsession was destroyed.

CASE 14.—Recently I visited an elderly couple who truly love each other. They are in comfortable circumstances and live on a little place in the country.

While on this visit Mr. Jones and I planned to shop in town one afternoon. We were seated in the car when Mrs. Jones, who was to remain at home, stepped out onto the piazza and said, "You had better bring a loaf of bread, John."

When we got back, Mr. Jones put two loaves of bread on the

kitchen table. Mrs. Jones saw them and began to fuss. "What ever made you bring two loaves of bread? I told you one loaf. You knew we had one loaf not cut and another only half gone. I don't see why you can't do as I ask," etc., etc.

Mr. Jones said to me during a moment when his wife was not in the room, "Ma is not feeling well. She doesn't mean anything. I let it go in one ear and out the other."

The next morning at breakfast the wife said, "I don't understand why you brought two loaves of bread. I told you to bring one. You knew we had one loaf not cut and another only partly used. I do wish you would do as I tell you," etc., etc. She used almost if not the identical words she had used over and over the day before.

CASE 15.—When my little son went to live with his grandparents, he was about five years old. I worked in a neighboring town, but visited my parents about once a month.

Each visit was made most unhappy by my son's behavior. He seemed very happy to see me and acted normally the first evening of each visit, grew cranky the following morning, and by noon misbehaved so badly at the table that his grandparents both would scold and threaten and punish, etc. My mother often said to him, "You are such a good boy when you are alone with us. Why do you make your mother so unhappy each time she comes home?" One thing after another would happen till I declared that I would rather not come home at all than endure such an ordeal each time. The only consolation I had was that my parents said my son caused no trouble when alone with them. One thing which seemed unfair to the child was that whenever he wanted to tell me about his affairs, mother would send him off to play, or tell him not to bother me, etc., or to keep quiet while she talked to me.

One day I read of a small girl who had taken to breaking dishes one after another while her mother was in the hospital with a new baby. Then I recalled a scene which had been enacted a number of times in my own home when my son was about two years old. His father had the child in his arms, I chanced to pass them, my husband put his arm about me and drew me to him. The child began to kick, scream, and to push his father's face away from me. We thought this funny at first, but after it had happened a few times we avoided a repetition of the scene. I didn't try to explain it then, but that day as I sat on the train returning to my work after a very

unpleasant weekend, I drew this conclusion. I had a jealous son. My son, so I reasoned, resented the attention which my mother and I gave each other, (I am fond of my mother) and wanted all my attention for himself.

On reaching the house I sat down and wrote to mother my analysis of our difficulty. We agreed that my son should not be neglected, and that part of my visit should be given to him, and his misbehaviors were to be ignored entirely.

It was hard work at first. He had conditioned himself to react to me in one way, and it was hard to break a well established habit.

As I look back on this experience, I wonder my son took such a mild way of securing attention. Mother had certainly been monopolizing me.

EXERCISES FOR STUDENTS

1. Each student should, if possible, make an intensive study by the best known methods of some maladjusted person, and give accounts of actual or suggested methods of treatment.

2. If the same individual is studied by more than one student, each entirely independent of the other, there will be an excellent opportunity afforded for checking the methods and the accuracy and significance of the facts reported.

3. Minor maladjustments of self or companions should be reported and suggestions given regarding adjustments that have or can be made.

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